

# SOCIOLOGY — AND — SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL  
COMBINING THE JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY  
AND BULLETIN OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

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*An International Journal  
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## IS "PROGRESS" A SCIENTIFIC CONCEPT?<sup>1</sup>

HORNELL HART

*Bryn Mawr College*

MANY SOCIOLOGISTS contend that the problem of progress lies wholly outside the proper scope of science. Pitirim Sorokin states this position when he remarks:

As to theories of progress or regress, since they are "judgments of evaluation," they are doomed, because of this very fact, to be subjective and, according to their logical nature, never can be scientific statements. "Science always speaks in the indicative and never in the imperative mood, as the ethical statements and the judgments of evaluation do," says H. Poincaré quite properly. Thus far the theories of progress, with their evaluation of what is good and what is bad, what is progressive and what is not, may express only the subjective tastes of their authors, and nothing more. If sociology is going to be a science it must get rid of such judgments of evaluation.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, Read Bain maintains that "we must have a frankly behavioristic sociology if we are to have a science." He argues "that the whole traditional clutter of conscious states and subjective concepts must be thrown overboard, or if retained, must be redefined in terms of movement." One of the concepts of which he thus proposes to dispose is progress.

The subjective character of most current opinions about progress seems evident from the abysmally divergent conclusions reached by different observers of present Euro-American culture. Dean Inge tells us that "we are wit-

<sup>1</sup> This article is an abridgement of the opening chapter of a text on *The Technique of Social Progress*, to be published in 1929 by Henry Holt & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Social Forces*, Vol. 6, 1927, p. 39.

nessing the suicide of a social order, and our descendents will marvel at our madness." V. F. Calverton warns:

We live at convulsive fever heat, our pulse beat accelerated, our nerves at incessant tension, as the mad race of civilization dashes us along its ever-thinning precipices. The appalling signs of decay fence in our vision in every latitude. Our social and philosophic literature has already begun the swan-song of our era.<sup>3</sup>

And yet we hear what Will Durant has to say on the same subject:

We need not worry, then, about the future. . . . Never was our heritage of civilization and culture so secure, and never was it half so rich. Let us do our little share to preserve it, augment it, and pass it on, confident that time will wear away chiefly the dross of it, and that what is finally fair and noble in it will escape mortality, to illuminate and gladden many generations.<sup>4</sup>

The contrast between abject pessimism and exuberant optimism does not exhaust the varieties of current attitudes toward our civilization. Philosophies of social change hinge on the answers to three questions: "What has happened to our culture in the past? What is about to happen to our civilization in the future? and What shall we do about it?" Various combinations of answers to these questions produce the attitudes toward cultural progress or regress which fill current literature. These attitudes may be classified under the following heads:

1. Optimism, which, in its uncritical forms, has encouraged ruthless self-interest and blind ignoring of world dangers;
2. Standpatism, which has obstructed progress and fostered imperialism;
3. Repristination, which has sought to revive dead pasts;

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Quarterly*, 1927.

<sup>4</sup> *Reader's Digest*, Dec., 1926, p. 454, from *Harper's Magazine*, Nov., 1926.



4. Pessimism, which has lamented an unrecoverable golden age, or has hoped desperately for mere escape from horrors to come;
5. Cyclicalism, which has pictured civilization as rising and falling in uncontrollable waves;
6. Alarmism, which has urged various single reforms, each as the sole salvation of civilization; and
7. Meliorism, which views progress as a difficult but possible achievement.

The divergences between the above philosophies of social change arise from two great groups of causes: first, wishful thinking, and second, cultural contacts.

Wishful thinking makes some people pessimists and some optimists. The reformer who has dedicated his life, his interest, his funds, or his energy to some cause, adopts that movement as a part of his personality; he wishes the importance of the reform to be as great as possible since that magnifies his own importance—a result which practically every person desires. In this state of mind, the reformer welcomes eagerly any facts which make his movement seem more vitally important. The socialist or economist, therefore, unconsciously emphasizes every fact which makes the capitalistic system seem degenerate and evil, while he ignores and forgets anything favorable to that system. In the same way the advocate of eugenics selects for emphasis the facts suggestive of racial decadence and ignores data on the other side; the religious enthusiast is prone to play up facts suggestive of the need for his type of revival; the peace advocate magnifies the disasters involved in war and doubts the existence of facts supporting preparedness; while the super-patriot selects for emphasis the type of menaces which magnify the importance of his program.

Another type of wishful thinking which exaggerates decadent aspects of our civilization is the desire of the person

with a failure complex to find some excuse for himself. It helps his self-respect if he can show that this is a rotten world in which people like himself never get a chance. Allied to this is the satisfaction which people get by the self-flattery implied in their destructive criticism of other people and of social institutions. Moreover, prophesying disaster is one way of capturing attention.

But optimism also may be the outgrowth of wishful thinking. The great captain of industry, the great inventor, the person who has acquired a fortune, and the successful statesman or author tend to adopt the existing social status as part of themselves, and wish to glorify themselves by proving its praiseworthiness and soundness. Their belief in progress is apt to be unconscious bragging.

#### ARE CRITERIA OF PROGRESS DETERMINED BY CULTURE MEMBERSHIP?

Culture contrasts are the second great source of divergences in people's beliefs about progress. It is often remarked that the definition of progress would be totally different in the mind of an oriental from what it would be in that of an occidental. Gandhi, for example, represents great masses in the East when he demands abolition of modern machinery and return to ancient hand-weaving. Edison, on the other hand, is spokesman for certain great groups of people in Europe and America when he says:

The machine has been the human being's most effective means of escape from bondage. . . . Not through fewer, but through more machines, not through simpler, but through more complex machines, will men find avenues that lead into lives of greater opportunity and happiness.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "Machine-Made Freedom, *Forum*, October, 1926.

Similarly, the American colonists and their descendents have felt that progress in America was closely bound up with the clearing and cultivation of land, the construction of railways, the development of public schools, the growth of cities. To the American Indians, however, these things spelled disastrous destruction of everything held dear.

Such contrasts between great racial groups are essentially of the same sort as the differences of taste which shoot through the entire population. Some people think that development and propagation of the theory of evolution was a tremendous step forward; millions of other people have thought it a basic disaster. A considerable fraction of the population of Europe and America has regarded the growth of Christianity as indubitable progress; Langdon Davies, however, voices the opinions of a by no means negligible group when he says:

Among all the enemies of women, none has waged more implacable war against them than the religion which grew up and was called Christianity. . . . Beyond all possible doubt the first centuries of Christianity degraded women, filled them with despair, made their life purposeless, to an extent which has rarely been equalled in the whole history of Mankind.<sup>6</sup>

Another question of opinion or taste which underlies great areas of the controversy about progress is preference for old things or for new, for the classical or the modern, for serenity or for change.

These, and countless other differences in tastes, interests, approvals and aversions, rising to some extent, from innate differences in temperament but even more from contrasts in individual experiences which have linked certain things into the expanded self and others into the antipersonality, make the detailed content of the concept of prog-

<sup>6</sup> *A Short History of Women*, 1927, p. 100.

ress widely different, not only for every racial, national, economic, religious and educational group, but every individual.

#### OBJECTIVE CRITERIA OF PROGRESS

Admitting fully the powerful tendency toward wishful thinking about social change and admitting also extreme variations in tastes and cultural standards, there remains nevertheless a thoroughly objective—indeed a behavioristic—basis for the definition and scientific treatment of progress. Measurements of progress can be developed which are capable of independent verification by any impartial investigator. Observe a group of pigs just before the time at which they are accustomed to be fed. They rush about, paw their troughs, make a loud squealing, and mob pell-mell toward the approaching bearer of food. When it is poured into the troughs they clamber over each other, crowd their snouts into the food, and guzzle it down as rapidly as possible. Now, quite regardless of any theories as to what the conscious experiences of these pigs may be, it is perfectly objective to say that they *wanted* food, meaning by “wanted” that they employed energy in ways leading to securing food. Consider two equally advertised neighboring theaters, one crowded and the other half-empty. It is perfectly objective to say that the theater-going public in that vicinity *wanted* the sort of experience offered in the crowded theater more than in the half-vacant one, meaning by that term that they spent money to secure the wanted experience. Behavioristically, the term “want” may be defined by the statement that an uncoerced individual “wants” the experiences which he expends energy, time, money, and the like to secure. *Potential wants* may further be defined as experiences which, when presented to the individual in the proper way, will

produce active wants. Progress may then be defined behavioristically as social change which on the whole and in the long run increases the degree to which actual and potential wants are stimulated, released and facilitated.

#### WANTS VERSUS WANTS

All this appears simple enough, but difficulties arise from the fact that wants interfere with each other. The mouse wants cheese; it wants also to avoid death. Analysis of the relative importance and the interference of these wants leads to the conclusion that, from the standpoint of mice, increased supplies of cheese in mouse traps would not constitute progress. The human want for excitement is facilitated by opportunities for gambling; gambling, however, has certain effects upon business success, crime, family life, poverty. Whether an increase or decrease in gambling constitutes progress must, therefore, be considered in the light of relative importance and the interference of the wants involved. At the present moment numbers of scientific investigations are under way to analyze the extent of interference between the use of alcohol or nicotine and such other human wants as efficiency, health, and longevity; such studies are part of the scientific analysis of values prerequisite to scientific study of progress.

#### A BASIC FORMULA OF WANTS

Critical analysis and comparison of wants makes possible a brief summary statement of the basic values which underlie progress. Inductive study of human and animal behavior has led to the conclusion that wants may be expressed in the formula: *The motive of life is to function.*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> A large portion of the volume, *The Science of Social Relations*, by Hornell Hart, Henry Holt and Company, 1927, is devoted to the inductive development of this formula. A compact summary statement will be found on pp. 622-35 of that book. More exhaustive treatment is given on pp. 15-176.



Functioning means doing the things which one's personality is at the moment adapted to do. Some forms of functioning are painful, but pain warns of a menace to the functioning personality or to the race: it arises from interference between wants. A basic form of functioning is experimental and explorative—searching out possible new ways of functioning with the environment. Another basic tendency is toward expanding functioning—adopting as part of the personality property, ideas and people through whom one functions successfully, and then taking attitudes toward these additions as if they were parts of one's own functioning body. Socially this tendency to expanding functioning is allied to the desires to gain attention and approval and to share experiences with others. The ideal state of life therefore consists in complete functioning by a well integrated personality—i.e., a personality in which the various parts reinforce rather than thwart each other. Ecstasy consists in the most intense functioning possible, by a highly unified personality.

#### PROGRESS IN FUNCTIONING

From the above formulation of wants it follows that progress consists in those changes in the social structure which release, stimulate, facilitate and integrate human functioning. Release calls for freedom, liberation. The diversity in human valuations is not ground for doubting the objectivity of criteria of progress; rather it calls for setting up as a fundamental criterion the canon of liberty, whereby individuals of diverse tastes may each attain his own deep wants. Stimulation calls for the awakening of potential wants, for the opening up of new and larger vistas of functioning. Facilitation means providing the equipment and opportunities for functioning—supplying the tools, structures, ideas and organizations needed. Integra-

tion calls for weaving these free and expanding functionings into a fabric in which thwarting and destructive conflict are reduced to a minimum, and reciprocal stimulation, release and facilitation rise to their maximum.

#### THE OBJECTIVITY OF THESE FUNCTIONAL CRITERIA

It has been argued that since progress means different things to the Hindoo and the Englishman, or to the American Indian and the settler, therefore no objective definition of progress is possible. The above criteria, however, are applicable to orientals as well as occidentals, to primitives as well as to highly civilized peoples; they apply even to animals as well as to human beings. My friend Victor Howe is a big dog who comes to visit me from my neighbors. The purpose of life for him is to function: he wants to run, to bark, to eat, to copulate. He wants attention and approval: he seeks petting, being played with, being taken for a ride or on a walk. He functions exploratively and expandingly: he has adopted me as part of his personality and lies near me for an hour or more at a time in the woods while I am sawing: he has adopted the house as part of his personality and barks violently at any approaching stranger. From his standpoint, progress consists in increasing release from bondage; stimulation; facilitation by such means as food, playfellows and mates; and integration in terms of absence of being beaten, scolded or excluded. Exactly the same sort of analysis applies to progress from the angle of wild ducks, aboriginal Australians, the Chinese people, or the ancient Greeks.

As applied to human progress, these functional criteria may readily be worked out in detail as applied to changes in technology, scales of living, intellectual life, political relations, industrial relations, religion, family life, philan-

thropy, and health. By the objective appraisal of data bearing on these aspects of human wants, past changes in culture may be analyzed with a view to determining the degree, the direction and the technique of social change—to finding out, in other words, whether there has been any progress, and what, if anything, we as individuals can do to promote it.

To say, then, that science cannot be applied to the question of progress, is absurd. If science is powerless to organize data for a critical analysis of these problems, then some other systematic and objective technique must be developed to answer these imperative questions. The past trend of human culture is a matter upon which anthropology and history offer evidence. It is possible to find out what changes in content and spirit have taken place in civilization—not only during thousands but through tens of thousands of years past. It is possible to know in historic ages what forward spurts and what relapses have occurred in culture, and to determine within broad limits what conditions favor and what retard progress. It is possible to find in what ways now culture elements originate, how they are transmitted, and how they perish. It is possible, in a word, to have a science of human progress, from which one can derive conclusions relatively free from superficial analogy, prejudice, and disguised wishes. It is possible to bring the light of intelligence to bear upon the inferiority and superiority complexes and the obsessing ideas to which we are prone in thinking of our civilization, and with rational and integrated minds, to apply our lives in relation to the great movements of mankind.

Philosophies of civilization are of crucial importance. Obviously the choice between the philosophies listed earlier in this article may affect profoundly the life program, the serviceability and the happiness of the chooser. Those

who mean to face existence intelligently and use their lives effectively should think the problem through in the light of all the information which can be made available before accepting as valid either the enervating fatality of impending disaster or the soothing soporific of guaranteed progress. If, on the other hand, neither of these paralyzing philosophies should prove valid, but the need and the value of action should seem clear, there is still the problem of what sort of action is called for—whether aggressive imperialism, agitation for birth control, the preaching of a new social gospel, the scientific treatment of the defects of an age of science, or some other sort of remedy.

If, like the lower animals, we have no philosophy whatever about social change, that in itself is momentous, for the day has passed when the evolution of society can safely be left to the sub-rational processes—to family love, gregariousness, hate, fear, hunger, lust, greed, ambition. Nor can even the unthinking avoid wholly the subtle contagion of the conclusions arrived at by others. Those who control the policies of nations will bend those policies to fit the pattern of some theory of human destiny and of its shaping—crude, vague and unformulated though that theory may be. And even though the ideals which men aver may be rationalizations shaped to excuse motives unacknowledged, these formulations in themselves will react with power on the processes which they were intended merely to defend, and will in the minds of the public who follow these leaders, become action patterns for momentous movements. If we can take these half-formulated ideas and measure them against the sober facts of anthropology, of history, and of sociology, mistaken notions may be corrected and the skulking motives which the rationalizations seek to hide may be driven out. Some of us have been misled into accepting the mistaken or insincere for-

mulations of others as sound theories on which to build our relationships to society: we may be able to lay for ourselves foundations bedded in actual data, and hence may avoid those errors in the spending of our lives which might otherwise arise from following prophets of false philosophies.

The momentousness of the conclusions to be reached—their major importance to the individual in planning his life and to society in its crisis—must not obscure the impartiality of the inquiry. If civilization be doomed, then let us know it as soon and as conclusively as may be in order that we may adjust our lives accordingly. If progress is automatic, let us find it out as promptly and definitely as possible, so that we may not waste our efforts in fruitless pushing at the glacier. Let us not blink nor dodge the truth, but set out without prejudice and without reservation upon the high adventure of discovery.



## THE NATURE OF PROPAGANDA

FREDERICK E. LUMLEY

*Ohio State University*

So MUCH has been said upon this matter since the World War and so many definitions have been launched that it may appear to some that the subject has been exhausted, that enough has been said. I am dominated by the conviction, however, that the subject has not been exhausted, that enough has not been said, that all of the definitions set afloat are superficial and inadequate. It is the purpose of this article to carry the analysis of this force or instrument somewhat further and to present a view of its nature which, so far as I know, has not yet been elaborated. I have seen this matter in a new light since writing my chapter in 1924.<sup>1</sup>

### I. CURRENT DEFINITIONS

By way of refreshing our memories and providing a ready background for what is later to be said, a few of the current definitions of propaganda may be presented. Strong says it is the "spread of a particular doctrine or system of principles, especially when there is an organization or a general plan back of the movement." Gardiner thinks of it as an attempt at "the creation of public opinion by the spreading of misinformation." For Wreford it is the "dissemination of interested information and opinion." President Hopkins of Dartmouth has characterized it as "a

<sup>1</sup> See *Means of Social Control*, Chap. VIII.

fancy name for publicity" and the "illegitimate child of the publicity family, born of education as a Mother and begotten of special interest as a Father." Lasswell says: "By propaganda is not meant the control of mental states by changing such objective conditions as the supply of cigarettes or the chemical composition of food. Propaganda does not even include the stiffening of morale by a cool and confident bearing. It refers solely to the control of opinion by significant symbols, or, to speak more concretely and less accurately, by stories, rumours, reports, pictures and other forms of social communication. Propaganda is concerned with the management of opinions and attitudes by the direct manipulation of social suggestion rather than by altering other conditions in the environment or in the organism."<sup>2</sup>

We need not go on with these for they are familiar to all. But what do they mean? Analysis shows that the framers of these definitions conceived of propaganda essentially in term of (1) method, (2) self-interest, (3) results, or (4) sources. To some propaganda is that kind of shaping or directing of human affairs which is indirect, devious, and therefore questionable. To some propaganda is the kind of shaping which arises out of self-interest. To some propaganda is that kind of direction which has bad results, although it is hard to always say what bad results are. These disagreements—and the uncertainties which they imply—seem to me to show that we are dealing with definitions which do not define, that we are dealing with conceptions which are not clear; and this condition is exactly the kind of condition which calls for and, in fact, enforces, further analysis.

<sup>2</sup> *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, 8 ff.

## II. ADEQUATE DEFINITION

Anything is satisfactorily *defined* when it is so clearly marked off from everything else that there is no longer any confusion of the two either in thinking or acting; when the thing is satisfactorily and finally distinguished and separated from everything with which it might be confounded. An adequate definition separates and makes identification certain; it draws clear boundaries and sizes up the essential—for the purposes in hand—contents.

There are at least three methods of procedure in making adequate definitions. (1) We may define by identifying and calling attention to some peculiar or purely individual feature of the object under consideration, some quality or characteristic which it alone possesses. Thus, if we should say that the man we are looking for is the man who has a tooth growing out of his forehead that would be an adequate definition. We could find him anywhere in the world if we searched long enough; and we should never mistake him for anybody else because nobody else has that particular feature. Any phenomenon may be defined, then, by disclosing that one part of its contents which it has alone.

(2) We may also adequately define by disclosing a peculiar combination of contents, a combination which exists only in this case; and we see of course that this is but an extension of the first method noted. We may say, for instance, that the man we are thinking of and trying to locate is the one man in the world who has a wart on the end of his nose, a circle of scars on the center of his forehead, a hare-lip, a dimple on his chin, a furtive look, and a peculiar gesture with the left hand. Now many people may have any one, two or three of these features, but no one except this man has all of them. Therefore, in your search,

when you find a man with all of these features, you will have your man.

(3) There is also the method of exhaustive stock-taking, and this procedure is but the logical extension of the others; but the numbers of contents employed makes the result qualitatively different. We may try to list and describe the total contents of the object or phenomenon and thus set it apart from every other. We may say that this is the man who has the characteristics one, two, three, four, five, six—to the *n*th degree. And from this descriptive definition the man may be located; he will be adequately defined by this exhaustive account.

In the first two cases we have definition by singularity; the singularity of a comparatively simple but striking feature in the first case, and the singularity of a relatively simple but striking combination in the second. But in the third case we have definition by numerousness and complexity, by a tireless listing of the details, the total making a presentation which is unmistakable. In the first two cases we have definition by intension, whereas in the second we have it by extension. The first calls for great penetration and very fine discrimination as a rule; the third calls for wide and full knowledge and complete description. We continually use all three methods in our attempts to identify and interpret the objects of our study.

### III. THE NATURE OF PROPAGANDA

It has seemed to me that the second and third methods have been employed, for the most part, in attempting to define propaganda; that is, we have tried to define it by calling attention to a combination of peculiar features or by detailing the total contents. But what about the possibilities of the first method? Can propaganda be made

a usable concept by hunting out and holding aloft its one essential and singular feature? As a matter of fact we can usually arrive at singularity or uniqueness, in any given case, if we start with method three above and follow back to method one by a process of elimination. We can notice that some features characterize many objects; some of these features characterize fewer objects; ultimately a unique combination or one single feature characterizes only one object or is found only in one place at a time.

Thus it is that definition is an undertaking with a purpose. We do not and cannot define in a vacuum. We define for service in thinking. Those definitions which help us to think are good definitions. Therefore we define in different ways. A zoologist might say that a horse is a large perissodactyl ungulate mammal domesticated by man, a member of the family Equidae, but a farmer would prefer a creature trained to drag a plow and a cavalryman an animal that one could ride to battle. Therefore definitions are not arbitrary, but take shape from the contents of any object or phenomenon considered in its setting.

With these matters before us I now desire to hazard the proposition that *propaganda is the dissemination of conclusions*—that and nothing more. Let us see what this means.

The clear aim of qualified educators is two-fold—to develop sound thinkers and skillful actors, to help people to know what is best to do and then to do it well. We may dismiss the second aspect of this aim for the time being and pay attention to the first. This means that a population which knows how to find evidence, habitually hunts out evidence, and acts upon evidence, is wanted. This means that people are to be trained to acquire habits of demanding and using facts as a basis for action. This means that people are to learn to reach conclusions in life



necessarily growing out of and founded upon sound evidence. This means that they are not to act on the basis of tradition, on any questionable support from outside them. This is the end-result of our educational aspirations—on the intellectual side. In other words, we want our population made up of thinkers.

Now, when conclusions, that is to say, the results of the investigation and thinking of other people, are disseminated and accepted, by any individual, without examination, he avoids or foregoes the thinking process by so much. Therefore he fails to develop intellectually to that extent. If he makes that avoidance his habit, then he fails to make critical thinking his habit. Then he remains an intellectual weakling; he remains a dependant; he falls short of using his powers. If large numbers of people make this their habit or custom then they remain helpless in the crises of life; they remain as helpless as babies would be if, as they grew, they were always carried about and never allowed to learn to walk, for thinking like walking is an ability which cannot be transferred in toto from one person to another. In other words there is no intellectual growth except by intellectual exercise and the uncritical acceptance of conclusions estops intellectual exercise.

Therefore when such people are told that the Kaiser is a villain, that all races are inferior except our own, that socialism is the best social arrangement, that war is a human necessity, that baptism is essential to salvation, and the like without end—clearly the supposed end-results of prolonged investigation—and accept them as many eat oysters for the first time, namely, without putting their teeth in them, they are saving themselves laborious exercise and thus making sure of intellectual dwarfdom.

Now this is the ultimate reason why propaganda is so vicious; it is so deadly to all intellectual development; the

victims of propaganda simply cease growing. Agnes Repplier has said that propaganda is "a good word gone wrong." From our point of view the word has never actually connoted anything good. If this sort of work makes propaganda wrong now, it has always been wrong. From our point of view it has never been a helpful influence within the human race in so far as it has been inimical to the acquisition and development of the capacity to think.

Broadly speaking there is no difference between systematic and unsystematic dissemination; as far as they both foster intellectual stagnation they are both wholly bad, and they both do have this result. It may be said that systematic dissemination is worse because it reaches more people with more prestige, and this may be true although I do not know that it has ever been shown. But we must not forget that the amount of unsystematic dissemination—in gossip, in small arguments, in parental dicta, in casual remarks, and the like—is enormous and carries great weight, not only because it offers a line of least resistance, but because of the personal presence of the propagandist and the authority that goes with it; it is often easier to reject conclusions in print than by word of mouth.

For our purposes here there are, perhaps, two kinds of conclusions—those which are established according to all the rules of science and logic, and those which are not; those which are known to be true as much as anything can be known to be true, and those which are unestablished and partisan. But this distinction is unimportant so far as propaganda is concerned. We freely admit that *if people must* form the habit of accepting conclusions uncritically they would be better off to accept true ones; their actions, then, would have the appearance of being intelligent, and they might not do themselves such great damage *in action*. But they would not grow intellectually by fol-

lowing such a plan. Of course it may be argued that no individual has enough time at his disposal, nor enough skill in research, to test out all of the conclusions that he must use as a basis of action to keep in step with social life; it may be said that we would have social anarchy if each individual did all of his own thinking; it may be maintained that each person would have to be utterly isolated to escape the systematic and unsystematic dissemination to which we have alluded and which always goes on.

But all of these objections simply say that we have a perpetual conflict between what some people call social expediency (in this case social harmony) and educational theory. If these objections are sound, however, it is hard to justify most educational theory and procedure and the critico-scientific movement as a whole. It is barely possible that there is an evil which is worse than social anarchy; it may be that the so-called accompanying measure of social anarchy, while deeply deplored, would be a lesser evil than a smooth-running, custom-bound society made up of intellectual dwarfs.

When presenting this view to friends I have been asked, with some surprise, if I would not tell a child, give the conclusion, that "That bottle contains poison and you will die if you take it," but rather allow the child to go on and find out for himself what is in the bottle and what it will do to him. "That would be terribly cruel," I have been told. And I agree that it would be terribly cruel, but what of it? Since when has it been certain that cruelty is to be avoided no matter what the costs? Suppose everybody made it an invariable rule to avoid pain, would we know very much about life and the world? Some one or more persons probably paid the price in discovering that the liquid in the bottle was poison.

We might say that where conclusions are a matter of life and death, and are established, we could justify ourselves

in circulating them and others in depending upon them, especially in the case of children, if we at the same time discourage the formation of the habit of uncritical acceptance. We often have, as in the particular case of the poison, safer methods of testing out propositions than the crude and devastating experimentation of earlier times. But it is the *habit* of uncritical acceptance that we wish most of all not to cultivate, and especially in adults.

But what is the ultimate difference between being dead and *being deceived* into suffering and death as many have been and are in war, in industry and in religion? The acquisition of habits of uncritical acceptance of conclusions leads to stagnation which is a slow death just as it often leads to heroics which are quite useless and unnecessary. We have to ask ourselves continually whether we would prefer to save bodies with no minds or develop bodies with sound minds. The way of propaganda may be the way of doing the former but not the latter—that is our point. In other words, it is the weakness of gullibility upon which propagandists work, and it is that weakness which is so inimical to the best kind of human progress.

Not only is intellectual development estopped by feeding people regularly on conclusions, but such people are led to act upon propositions the truth or falsity of which they are forever unable to determine. This makes them the easy tools of others who desire to use them. Such undeveloped persons can hardly be ends to themselves, but must always remain as means to the ends of others, although they may be deceived into holding that their own ends coincide with the ends of those who are using them.

Moreover they are all too often led or prodded, by such uncritical acceptance, into kinds of action which may be inimical to themselves and to many others. Such persons all too easily become the degraded servants of shrewd

higher-ups and engage in deeds which are contemptible and dangerous thereby making festering sores in society at various places. And this, of course, is the ultimate damage which the propagandist does, from the social point of view. He not only keeps people intellectually dwarfed but he thereby brews a nauseous mess in the social organization. He makes people make bigger fools of themselves in action than they would ordinarily be.

Here, then, to close, is a social influence which is almost wholly bad because, first, it is inimical to intellectual development, and second because it leaves them the easy tools of scheming manipulators, and third because it leads or prods them easily into the most dangerous kinds of social action. The essence of propaganda is the dissemination of conclusions.



## SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PARENTAL EDUCATION

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

*University of Southern California*

IN RECENT YEARS there has been much disquieting evidence that family disorganization has become a very serious problem. There is at present one divorce for every six-and-one-half marriages; desertions are becoming altogether too frequent; our courts are clogged with neglected children and our children's institutions are dealing more and more with children of whose parents one or both are living. That something is wrong with home life and that certain conditions are militating against it must be quite self-evident. After observing such conditions some people are ready to modify the legal forms set up for the home: others, however, believe that the first step is to make the home as organized at present more efficient. Accordingly a tremendous impetus has in the last decade been given to a program of parental education.

The findings of modern psychology have proved a powerful factor in accelerating this program. The prolongation of human infancy had been considered a safety device to insure right habits and honorable conduct. The new psychology, while not denying the plasticity of adolescence, nevertheless, places tremendous stress on the first few years of life. They are critical years in the lifetime of a child. A single event may produce an "emotional fixation" that may accomplish untold harm in later years. Therefore, the proper guidance and control of the child in its

earliest years has become the goal in child training. To reach this goal it seems necessary to work through the parents, since parents are likely to remain the chief human factor in a small child's environment. An important function of the home is being revealed in a new way, and it is not likely that this function will be arrogated to itself by any modern substitute for home life. Parents will continue to serve as the inevitable guides of child life. If so, then they need to be made more effective. Religion has indeed insisted on this function as an integral part of parental responsibility, but it has never developed a sufficiently reassuring program of education. It has remained for psychology and education to suggest the scientific foundations and to map out practical programs. But little aid has been received from the leaders in religion and in sociology. This situation will no doubt be remedied, since without the aid of the latter groups neither the program nor the method will be adequate.

Among the earlier attempts to meet the needs of parents and teachers interested in child training, was the publication of the "Childhood and Youth" series.<sup>1</sup> These books, however, did not stress the earlier years of life, were not animated with the recent psychology, and were not in most cases suitable either in style or composition to the needs of the average parents. At best their chief uses were to guide the more intelligent parents and to make more efficient leaders of parents' groups. Such groups, however, had not yet become popular.

Spurred on by representatives of the group contributing to the series just mentioned, the National Congress of Par-

<sup>1</sup> This series was produced under the editorship of Prof. M. V. O'Shea, professor of Education, University of Wisconsin. Among the books of the series several that were of particular value to parents are: *The Use of Money*, by E. A. Kirkpatrick, *The High-School Age*, by Irving King, and *Fear*, by G. Stanley Hall.

ents and Teachers (P.T.A.) began to develop an independent movement for the promotion of child study and parental education. This association consists of thousands of chapters and has an enrollment of more than one million members. It therefore has the organizational possibilities of reaching far and wide into the parenthood of the nation. The stated meetings of the local chapters consist largely of independently organized programs. Until recently they included such items as music, readings, recitations, addresses, lectures, and the discussion of plans for practical work. There was no comprehensive discussion of child training or child care. A smattering of knowledge was frequently gained, but little was made immediately available for application in the home. However, the occasional address dealing with behavior problems was avidly consumed by eager mothers struggling with such problems in their own homes; especially has this been true in recent years. Accordingly, the P.T.A., although it has existed for more than thirty years, has only within the last decade vitalized its parental education program. It had given considerable attention to the problem of physical care, but not until 1925 did it begin to emphasize the new program. In that year it published the first of its series of outlines of short study courses. The book by the Children's Foundation, entitled *The Child: His Nature and His Needs*, was selected as the basis of the course of study. A list of seventeen topics was chosen and each topic was briefly outlined and the outlines published in a set of six booklets, each containing from twenty to thirty-two pages. Among the topics chosen were, The Child as Heir to the Past, The Sex Life of the Child, The Teen Age, Learning to Live with People, Physical Factors in Mental Growth, Wayward Children, etc. Such a topic as, The Teaching of Religion was not included in the list, but later outlines have made amends for this omission.

This initial experiment was conducted on an educational and emotional plane considered suitable to the type of patronage it hoped to win. One can therefore understand why one of the topics was labeled "The Birth of the Tender Passion," and why among the various questions presented for discussion was one reading as follows: "Should a parent try to compel a normal two-year-old child to pronounce a word like 'Ypsilanti' correctly?" Each chapter or group using the outlines was expected to utilize the reference book mentioned above, and from it to find answers to many of the questions propounded.

Since this modest beginning three years ago the P.T.A. has made remarkable progress. The annual convention held at Cleveland in May, 1928, dealt with many aspects of the problem of parental education; addresses by noted educators were given; and, what is perhaps even more important, the presence of many mothers capable of most effective discussion and remarkable for their understanding of these problems revealed itself. Furthermore, the magazine of the organization has begun a persistent campaign along these lines.<sup>2</sup> It is filled with articles dealing with different aspects of parental education. It publishes articles of value both to fathers and mothers. Furthermore, it has presented a variety of outlines of study courses, each of which is based on a particular book or set of books. An outline covering several lessons is published in each monthly number of the magazine. In this way the work is simplified both for the pupil and the teacher. Among the courses outlined are:

First Year Course for Pre-School or Grade School Child.

Second Year Course for Pre-School or Grade School Child.

<sup>2</sup> *Child Welfare*

Course for High School Children.

Training of Child in Christian Family.

Topical Courses based on Selected Books.

Meanwhile, it has been found necessary to enlarge the reference list. Besides the general text and the outlines based thereon, additional reading matter is suggested. Classes or chapters are expected to purchase a few of the recommended books and to make them available to the mothers, but particularly to the class leader.

A significant forward step consists in the establishment by the organization of a National Bureau of Parental Education. This is fostering the work throughout the country, is sponsoring courses of study, and is persuading local communities to carry out the suggested educational program. Results such as the following are being accomplished. In one eastern state a capable young woman who was also a college graduate was secured to guide and supervise thirty-three mothers' classes. She held monthly meetings with the leaders, provided them with study materials and assisted them in working out their weekly programs. In another community the local P.T.A. paid the tuition of ten leaders selected to take one of the parental education courses now offered in a nearby university. A third illustration consists in an arrangement with a board of education whereby the latter agrees to utilize leaders of mothers' groups for classes to be conducted under the auspices of the extension work of the schools.

Class instruction is now given apart from the monthly meetings of the local chapters. Separate classes meeting at stated intervals have been scheduled, and accordingly much systematic and genuinely helpful study is being carried out. The organization, however, is mindful of its clientele. In it are usually found the mothers of average education only, excepting, of course, the high school groups.



Therefore, the easier texts and the less technical pamphlet material are used.<sup>3</sup> To do otherwise would be to defeat this worthy innovation.

An organization dealing with the same problem but in quite a different way, is the Child Study Association of America. This body is the outgrowth of an organization founded in 1888, but its rebirth occurred in 1912. However, it did not assume the present name until 1924. Formerly, it was the Federation for Child Study. Its leaders apparently aim to reach the more intelligent parents or the guides and leaders of parents. The official magazine of the organization is filled with more difficult articles and with interpretations of modern psychology, some of which are above the grasp of the average parent. In fact it has published a short glossary of words for the benefit of "parents and others," which includes definitions of such terms as Babinski reflex, Oedipus Complex, libido, etc. It can readily be seen that treatises containing the type of vocabulary represented by these terms cannot be effectively read by the great mass of parents of today.

The Child Study Association is a leader in the development of parental education conferences. Many regional and local conferences have been held under its auspices or those of its various branches. The conference programs are usually diversified, and in addition to the presentation

<sup>3</sup> Among the books used as guides and texts are:

Thom, D. A., *Every Day Problems of the Every Day Child*.  
Richardson, F. H., *Parenthood and the Newer Psychology*.  
Cleveland, Elizabeth, *Training the Toddler*.  
Patri, Angelo, *The Problems of Childhood*.  
Weigle, Luther A., *The Training of Children in the Christian Family*.  
Groves and Groves, *Wholesome Childhood*.

Among reference books the following are listed:

Gale, J. R., *Elements of Child Training*.  
Cady, *The Way Life Begins*.  
Kirkpatrick, E. A., *Fundamentals of Child Study*.  
White, W. A., *The Mental Hygiene of Childhood*.

of the findings of the scientists some appeal is made to the parent or the leader of parents' groups directly. Some attention has also been given to minor conferences of a practical nature. Short courses for leaders are frequently carried out under the auspices of the association or its branches. A typical course in New York City consisted of daily sessions for a period of four weeks. Eminent specialists were used to assist in presenting the work and fundamental principles were liberally discussed.

A significant gesture in the direction of popular education has been made in the publication of several books and a set of educational pamphlets. The first book was published in 1923.<sup>4</sup> In the Introduction we find the statement, "The treatment is comprehensive, both in the topics chosen and in the outline and references for each. . . . The treatment is modern: mental tests, psycho-analysis, and the conditioned reflex receiving due (some conservative critics may think, undue) attention, and recent work in all lines being considered." This book has been used as a text by parents' classes directly, and a companion book published a little later has proved a useful guide for leaders.<sup>5</sup>

A series of popular pamphlets has also been published. These pamphlets are entitled, "Studies in Child Training."<sup>6</sup> There are nine in all, and each consists of approximately twelve pages. A topic is very briefly outlined, certain practical conclusions are indicated, and additional reading lists are suggested. One or two meetings can be devoted to each subject, and a course of from ten to twenty lessons provided.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin C. Gruenberg, *Outlines of Child Study. A Manual for Parents and Teachers.*

<sup>5</sup> Benjamin C. Gruenberg, *Guidance of Childhood and Youth.*

<sup>6</sup> The titles of the several studies are as follows: Obedience, Punishment, Imagination, Habit, Curiosity, The Use of Money, Truth and Falsehood, Health Training of the Pre-School Child, Answering Children's Questions.

An additional development consists of popular evening lectures, which may be given in short courses of from five to ten lectures each. These courses are unified and may be planned for both fathers and mothers, as well as for each sex separately. Some success has been attained in reaching groups of fathers, but the general response of the male parent has been far from satisfactory. The Child Study Association has also professed profound interest in the establishment of nursery schools and has consistently fostered this type of educational enterprise.

The U. S. Children's Bureau, always on the alert for opportunities to prove its practical usefulness, entered the field of Parental Education in 1924. In that year it published a 72-page pamphlet entitled "Habit Clinics for the Child of Pre-School Age." This report describes a clinic and its organization, and deals directly with a number of physical and mental problems of the child. It utilizes case histories and gives a brief discussion of each concrete situation treated. Among the topics receiving attention are: sex habits, temper tantrums, pugnacity, shyness, destructiveness, delinquency, and acute personality changes. The report is non-technical, but is adapted to social workers and to leaders of parents' groups, rather than to parents themselves. Additional reports have been prepared, some of which will prove valuable to the intelligent parent. While they omit the intricacies of psychological analysis they are based on the conclusions of modern research, and present workable principles of child management and control.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> A series of pamphlets has been prepared by D. A. Thom, Director of the Habit Clinics of Boston and Director of the Division of Mental Hygiene in the Department of Mental Diseases of Massachusetts. The titles are:

*Habit Clinics for the Child of Pre-School Age.*

*Child Management.* Publication No. 143, 1925.

*Child Management.* Publication No. 143, 1927 (revised).

*Disobedience, Lying, Stealing, Environment.* (Now included in No. 143.)

The extent to which the universities have begun to consider the problems and to assist in the solution, has occasioned much surprise. Many colleges and universities have recently enlarged their program for extension work and under this division they have attempted to meet directly some of the more important educational needs. The program in respect to parent education should not be confused with the courses for the training of regular students in problems of parenthood and of child care. The new movement aims to reach the parent himself, but the parent cannot enroll in the day classes and spend time in working for credit. Therefore, if the parent is to receive any instruction he must be given an opportunity through extension classes, and the conditions of admission must be considerably modified. Furthermore, classes must be opened to applicants whether or not there is a desire to work for credit.

Striking progress has been made within the last three years in the development of courses designed to meet the problem of parental education. In Cleveland College, the downtown service of Western Reserve University, a department of Parental Education has been established, and as many as ten courses have been offered during the year. These courses cover the health and hygiene aspects of the problems, but also include such subjects as Fathers' Problems in the Home Education of Children, and Leadership in Parental Education. In his official statement for the year 1927-28 the director of the college says:

The continued heavy enrollment in the new department of Parental Education is a cause of nation-wide interest and approval. The 403 registrations in this department so far exceed the numbers studying similar courses elsewhere that Cleveland College is in this regard in a class by itself. . . . The president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers has asked to be allowed to send out-

lines of these courses to the heads of colleges in other states in an effort to secure the establishment of such courses in every state. Many requests for information about these courses come from various parts of the country, and at least one other college has written that it will establish similar courses.<sup>8</sup>

As a matter of fact, about a dozen colleges and universities have within the last two years added at least one such course to their rapidly growing curriculum. In several instances it was a summer course; in others it was an afternoon or evening course given during the school year. The content of such a course may be illustrated from the description of the following course given through the division of university extension of a mid-west university:

#### EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY FOR PARENTS

This course will consider the findings of psychology relevant to education in its broader meaning and endeavor to apply these findings to the psychological problems of parenthood. Special consideration will be given to the scientific method, the original tendencies of children, the emotions, attitudes, coercion, interest, laws of learning, individual differences in mentality and character, and their measurement, and the project method in character development. Principles will be discussed in relation to actual problems presented by members of the class.<sup>9</sup>

A description such as this will appeal to the more efficient and intelligent parents only. It cannot be expected that a large number of individuals will join these courses at the present time. However, the pioneering work must be attempted among these groups and gradually the service can be extended to meet the needs of the less competent parents. Furthermore, the courses as planned and given will be helpful in training leaders of parents' classes.

<sup>8</sup> *Western Reserve University Bulletin*. Vol. XXXI, No. 9, Oct. 1, 1928, p. 115.

<sup>9</sup> *Bulletin of Washington University, St. Louis*. Division of University Extension. June 1, 1927, p. 52.



A unique experiment in parental education consists in the establishment of a Division of Parental Education in the Department of Education under the state government of California. The division was created in September, 1926, and is making a three-year demonstration of the plan. The operating funds are coming largely from a special foundation interested in the problem. The program of activities includes leadership training classes, the establishment or use of nursery schools for demonstration purposes, classes for parents, courses for upper division high school pupils and parents together, short intensive conferences for the promotion of child study or parental education and cooperation with other interested groups. The division has published a short bibliography of books classified under the following heads: books dealing with problems of children of school age; technical books, and books of a general nature. The class mentioned last is characterized as useful for parents of children of all ages.<sup>10</sup>

The Division has also published its suggested objectives for 1928-1929. These objectives are arranged under nine heads, and are apparently addressed to academic ears, rather than to parents or legislative bodies.<sup>11</sup> Other states

<sup>10</sup> For groups desiring a text the following books are suggested:

Arlitt, *The Psychology of Infancy and Early Childhood*.

Thom, *The Every Day Problems of the Every Day Child*.

For magazine literature the following magazines are mentioned:

*Children*—The Magazine for Parents.

*Hygeia*—The Health Magazine.

<sup>11</sup> Suggested Objectives for 1928-1929.

1. Gain appreciation of the worthwhileness of child life for its own sake, not as a preparation for "life."
2. Establish the habit of sympathetic observation of child activities and interests.
3. Develop an interest in the study of psychology which will give parents a real basis for discrimination among the offerings that go under the name of psychology.
4. Establish the habit of suspending judgment when dealing with children.
5. Increase ability to face facts about self which make child adjustments more difficult.

should be profoundly interested in this experiment in utilizing the state department of education as the organization through which a comprehensive program of parent training may be carried out.

The religious bodies have begun to appreciate the gravity of the present situation. They are being impressed by the new psychology but are particularly influenced by the movement in behalf of sex education. So far, however, they have hardly shared in the conferences dealing with modern methods of parental education. For example, out of twenty-two individuals contributing to the program of the Southern California conference on Modern Parenthood, held in Los Angeles, December, 1926, not a single clergyman was represented. Apparently the specialists believe that in respect to the development of fitness in parents the churches still hold too strongly to the efficacy of religious impulses, emotions, and ceremonies. On the other hand, the literature of the Sunday schools is being rewritten, and an era of "religious education" has begun to arrive. Quite apart from this movement, the mothers in many churches have already substituted classes in methods of child care and training for the conventional classes for married women current in churches throughout the land. In other instances the mothers have organized classes independent of the established system. In one large mid-west city last year more than one thousand women belonged to special classes or clubs of this type. The importance of this movement prompted the P.T.A. at its last annual convention to consider measures for the development of plans whereby groups working through the

6. Gain an understanding of the meaning of mental health which is as dependable as the understanding of the meaning of physical health.
7. Increase interest and understanding of school procedures.
8. Gain control of a method of attack upon problems of child adjustment.
9. Become familiar with sources of information in the field of child care.

schools and those preferring the churches might cooperate without loss of prestige or efficiency to church or P.T.A.

The movement within the churches has suffered from the paucity of texts and teaching material. A significant step, however, was taken in late 1927, in the publication of a book intended to serve the initial needs. The book recognizes the teachings of the recent psychology and the importance of giving attention to the fundamentals of sex education. It was approved by the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church and accordingly has acquired honorable status.<sup>12</sup> Such action presages similar developments among other denominations. Furthermore, it represents a challenge to the secular agencies that the churches do not intend to surrender the function of training for successful home and community life. Some of the work at least will remain with the churches.

This brief survey of the new developments in parental education is necessarily incomplete. Other groups besides the ones hastily described in this paper have given the subject thought and attention. However, the plans and program which we have outlined typify the movement and provide us with a cross-section of the efforts that are being made to strengthen one of the most important functions of the home. They furthermore reveal the deep-seated sentiment that exists in favor of the home and an effective parent-child relationship.

<sup>12</sup> T. W. Galloway, Associate Director, Department of Educational Measures, American Social Hygiene Association, *Parenthood and the Character Training of Children*, published by The Methodist Book Concern.

## HOUSING PROGRESS IN DETROIT<sup>1</sup>

S. JAMES HERMAN

*Detroit*

THE MICHIGAN HOUSING ASSOCIATION, with the assistance of the Board of Education, Board of Health and the local branch of the American Association of University Women, has been able to obtain an index of congestion or room density for the entire city of Detroit on a zone basis. From this index the room density in each of the 588 school census zones is now determined.

In this country, one person per room is considered as the maximum or tolerance of crowding; all over one is con-

<sup>1</sup> Corrections to Article by S. James Herman which appeared in September-October Issue, 1928, *Sociology and Social Research*.

- P. 38. *Last Line*, reading: "or not to exceed \$225 to \$300," should read: "or not to exceed \$25 to \$37.50."
43. *Paragraph 2, Line 4*, reading: "and two of the most conservative—Massachusetts and New York—passed constitutional amendments in 1914 and 1927, respectively," should read: "and four of them—Massachusetts, North Carolina, South Dakota and Texas—have passed constitutional amendments."
44. *Paragraph 2, Line 3*, reading: "to date has failed to complete the construction of Sunnyside,"—should read: "has but recently completed the construction of Sunnyside."
45. *Paragraph 1, Line 1*, reading: "And loaning the proceeds to housing corporations at a rate," should read: "and loaning the proceeds to non-profit housing corporations at a rate";  
*Paragraph reading*: "property including improvements will buy not less than 200," should read: "property purchased including improvements; will not buy less than 200."
46. *Paragraph 4, Line 4*, reading: "that there is positively no way of meeting, speedily, the," should read: "that there seems to be no way of meeting, speedily, the."
47. *Table "A"* Discount on sale of Builder's equity of \$6,000 should be extended as \$1,200 instead of \$12.00;  
*Table "A"* Contractor's excess, paid on account of buying material, etc., on small quantity basis, should be extended as \$198.90 instead of \$190.00;  
*Table "A"* Footing of Table "A" should read \$6,674.62 instead of \$6,774.62.

sidered as over-crowded or congested. In this connection the term "room" is applied only to bedrooms, living-rooms, kitchens;—bathrooms, halls and open sleeping porches are not considered as rooms in this sense. The fact that many families are likely to conceal actual conditions as to over-crowding, suggests that indices of congestion are likely to be much higher than shown.

Over-crowding is found to exist in 53 of the 588 zones, the total number of rooms in these zones being 99,108 and the population 111,161, or 1.122 persons per room.

Crowded conditions exist in 88 additional zones, having 183,559 rooms and a population of 174,721, or .952 persons per room. While it does not appear that over-crowding exists in these 88 zones, as a whole, considerable portions of them are undoubtedly very much overcrowded. For example, a family home may consist of four rooms—living room, kitchen and two bed-rooms. In this case one person per room would mean that four persons would occupy two bed-rooms; with an index of 2 persons per room, 8 persons would occupy two bed-rooms; and with an index of 3 persons per room, 12 persons would occupy two bed-rooms. Hence an average index of congestion for an individual zone or even a group of zones will not portray many dreadful cases of over-crowding in individual homes. Such conditions can be ascertained only through individual house study, which the Association hopes to undertake in the near future.

In considering the two groups of zones discussed, it can be safely stated that over-crowding exists in 141 zones, having 282,667 rooms and a population of 285,882, or 1.011 persons per room.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The following are some illustrations of deplorably over-crowded conditions:  
*Zone 1611*—bounded on the East by Junction and Hammond, on the North by Konkel and Michigan Ave., on the West by Livernois and on the South by Michigan Central Railway—2.66 persons per room.



The Michigan Housing Association, with the assistance of various City Departments and Welfare Organizations, is now engaged in correlating the information derived from the indices of congestion with various social problems and health conditions such as sanitation, communicable diseases, infant and general mortality, delinquency and crime, school truancy, direct distribution of charity to individuals and distribution of play space.

The index of congestion was compiled and tabulated by the Attendance Department of the Board of Education from information secured in taking the school census at the close of the last school year; two questions being added to the census inquiry blank, namely—"number of rooms per family" and "number of persons per family." These inquiries were made at all residences, regardless of whether they contained children of school age or not.

It is highly important that this tabulation be carried a step further in order to show the total number of families living in one, two, three, and four or more rooms. Such an index would serve as a basis for other important sociological studies. Studies of this character have been made in other cities, but were limited to small units such as one block or a series of blocks. More detailed studies in this direction will be undertaken and reported from time to time by the Michigan Housing Association.

*Zone 1645*—bounded on the East by Wyoming, on the North by Six Mile Road, on the West by Myers Road and on the South by Fenkell—1.71 persons per room.

*Zone 201*—bounded on the East by Woodward Ave., on the North by Michigan Ave., on the West by 1st St., and on the South by Detroit River—1.57 persons per room.

*Zone 1011*—bounded on the East by Wabash, on the North by Marquette, on the West by Lawton and on the South by McGraw and Antoinette—1.46 persons per room.

*Zone 702*—bounded on the East by Dequindre, on the North by Gratiot, on the West by Russell and on the South by Macomb—1.36 persons per room.

Since Detroit has shown the way, it is confidently hoped that the Federal Census Bureau will include in the next National Census such data as will give congestion and housing indices throughout the Nation. Without such information it is not only difficult, but practically impossible to carry on any scientific and sociologic study and comparison of housing conditions. Many European countries have made this a part of their National census for some time, and have found the data of inestimable value.

## SOCIAL WORK VIEWED INTERNATIONALLY

HELEN G. FISK

*Managing Director, Bureau of Vocational Service  
Los Angeles*

IF SEVERAL hundred active social workers, men and women from thirty countries were gathered together in one spot, what would they talk about? I had a chance to find out as delegate from the Los Angeles chapter, American Association of Social Work held in Paris last year. It was no great surprise to one who has worked in the field of preventive social work to find the topic most eagerly discussed at the first International Conference on Social Work, that problem so basic to all other social service problems—*unemployment*. The theme of unemployment appeared in the opening session of the conference when Miss Jebb of England in stating the thesis that many social problems are international said:

The problem of unemployment as it confronts us today is not an individual problem and one is forced to the conclusion that its only solution lies along international lines. To take an illustration, the countries of Europe are reduced to such extremes of poverty that it becomes impossible for them to offer for the agricultural products and raw materials of India a price sufficient to enable the Indian producer to purchase textile goods of Manchester. The result is unemployment on a large scale in Great Britain. Thus the sufferings of the unemployed and the cost of their maintenance both to industry and to the state in Great Britain can be traced in large measure to the economic conditions of Germany and India.

This international gathering like our own national conference of social work was divided into separate divisions

for group discussion on general organization of training for and methods of social work, public health, social work and industry, etc. The most largely attended session of the conference was the session of the industrial division devoted to the consideration of unemployment. For the purposes of this discussion, the chairman, Mr. Rowntree, large employer and philanthropist of England, set up the following definition of unemployment:

A person is unemployed who is capable of work, and who is seeking work for wages, but is unable to find any suited to his capacities under conditions which are reasonable judged by local standards.

The chairman spoke of some of the remedies for unemployment that usually are mentioned and considered more or less obvious, such as the letting of all big government contracts during times of depression, but emphasized the point that no such remedies can be really remedial in the long run—that the only measure which is really preventive is to keep healthy the industrial situation of a country. One of the best-known contributions of England toward the solution of unemployment problems according to Mr. Rowntree, is the government plan of unemployment insurance. He objected strenuously to the habit of many people of referring to this as the “dole” saying that it should not be considered charity any more than we consider fire insurance charity. Such a plan, however, can be effective under normal conditions only and is not sufficient to deal with abnormal conditions amounting almost to disaster, any more than pension plans would long survive if everyone started suddenly to live to be two hundred years old.

#### EMPLOYMENT MEASURES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

From the discussion it was obvious not only that some unemployment problems are international, but also that

many countries have very similar problems and that the various countries from their experience with different remedial measures may have helpful suggestions for one another. The chairman had stated his impression that unemployment appears only with a rather highly industrialized state of civilization, that a primitive or predominantly agricultural country does not have to face unemployment as one of its social problems. One of the first delegates on his feet was a man from South Africa who said that his country was both primitive and agricultural and was suffering greatly from unemployment. There, he said, a large native population who are by custom small peasant farmers are thrown out of their normal occupation because a large part of the land is held by a small white population. The natives, being untrained and unsuited for other work, flock to the only work available to them, that in the mines, in much larger numbers than can be used in that industry.

England has a well-established system of government labor exchanges which are assumed as a perfectly normal part of the industrial system. It is perfectly ridiculous, Mr. Rowntree said, to expect men to tramp from factory to factory looking for work when this waste of time and energy can be obviated by a well organized system of exchanges.

Japan not only has government employment offices all over the country but in addition the government subsidizes institutions for vocational guidance of which, the delegate reported, there are now fifty-one. Japan also has what seems an unusual method of emergency relief in the shape of government regulated public pawn shops.

At this section meeting the chairman had said that every employer, if he will take the trouble, can do a great deal to lessen unemployment locally and that through rationalization, the same thing could be done on a much larger scale.



In a later meeting on "Social Research Applied to Community Progress," Paul Kellogg of the *Survey* magazine carried the same thought a little farther. We have, he said, as a result of the study of industrial accidents, revolutionized the legislation about accidents and done a great deal in this country to reduce that industrial hazard, but we have done practically nothing against this other great industrial hazard—unemployment.

#### SOCIAL RESEARCH

This emphasis on trying to analyze and think through social problems, to find primary causes of social evils and to try to find solutions instead of remedies was, it seemed to me, one of the most hopeful aspects of the conference. Mr. Kellogg went on to illustrate the very great improvement of technique in research on the fact-finding side in the last few years and pointed out that we need very much an equal improvement in the technique of interpretation of social research—that applied research must mean applied in the sense of construction as well as induction, and predicted that we would see this development within the next ten years, as well as much improvement in the collating and systematizing of similar and related pieces of research. Mary Van Kleeck of the Russell Sage Foundation of New York City carried on much the same idea when she pointed out that after all we do live in local communities and that there is danger of talking of social problems in too general terms; that communities need social research close to the work of their social agencies. "Scientific research into social problems," she said, "is valueless unless it is tied up to the experience of social workers, but social work is also of little use unless there are social scientists among the social workers."

## THE INTERNATIONAL SPIRIT

"Mesdames et Messieurs," said the leader of the American delegation in opening his address before the convention, "So far my French carries me after three days in Paris; I regret that it can go no further." Many of us regretted that our language equipment was so feeble and one looked with awe and admiration upon the secretaries of the conference who translated so nimbly German speeches into French, French into English, almost before the words were out of the mouths of the experts from many countries. Yet even through the fog of language difficulty filtered much real international spirit. President Alice Masarykova (daughter of the president of Czechoslovakia) in opening the first meeting of the conference said:

We are now at the dawn of a new world to which we are perhaps too close to appreciate the full significance. Signs, however, are not wanting that the change which is taking place is of immense importance. We must devote ourselves to this task in a spirit of understanding and of respect for humanity in which this Conference has been opened.

One of the English delegates said:

We are trying to build dams against that flood of human misery which for centuries past has been overwhelming us. Everybody must live somewhere, must work from some base and that particular bit of the earth's surface from which he works we call his country, but it is hopeless for him to work as an isolated unit. He must link up with others if the dam is ever to be an unbroken wall behind which the nations can live happily and securely.

## WHAT MAKES INSPIRATION?

Perhaps the opening out of wider visions in such conferences as this is one answer to the question discussed by Porter R. Lee, President of our national conference of social work, "How to Maintain the Inspiration of Social

Workers Which Tends to Decrease With the Development of Social Work into a Profession." Mr. Lee felt that we must admit some decline of inspiration; that compared with forty years ago there are fewer prophetic voices among the social workers and a greater interest in social work as a career than as a cause. The attainment of a recognized professional status for social work has brought that lulling quality that comes with the realization of an end. Increased techniques, expertness, is apt to make us more interested in methods than in people, unless we guard against losing our strong humanitarian interest. It is difficult today to maintain the early inspiration of social work, Mr. Lee admitted, first because social work is no longer a novelty. There is still much human need but intelligent recognition of that need is much more common than it was years ago. Another difficulty comes in the greater efficiency of organization in social agencies; organization has a chilling effect upon inspiration. And the modern specialization of social work makes it hard for the social worker to hold the enthusiasm in meeting needs just as industrial specialization causes the industrial worker to lose sight of the finished product in which he has had only a small part. Mr. Lee pointed out two main channels through which social workers might maintain their inspiration. The first is through association with our fellow-workers, not only in a group meetings and discussions, but by the older workers taking responsibility for staff discussions with younger members not only on the technique of their work but also on its philosophy as well. The second channel which Mr. Lee sees as important is closer cooperation with laymen. He reminded the social workers that the social service done in a community will be not what a few professionally trained social workers see as possible, but what the community as a whole wants done and that social idealism is

not the prerogative of small professional groups. Mr. Lee said also that the schools of social work have a responsibility to the younger workers in giving them inspiration for their work. Their students must, of course, receive adequate technical equipment and there is an inspiration in having the necessary skill to meet the challenge of need. But students must learn to do as well as to know and the most authoritative teaching may yet miss inspiration.

#### TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR SOCIAL WORK

One of the interesting reports given at the conference was that by Miss Macadam of Great Britain on her quite exhaustive study of training schools for social work in fifteen countries. She raised three questions: whether since the students in these schools are 90 per cent women, the men do not need training because of the intrinsic excellence of their work; whether the rank and file of social workers are not hampered by working under untrained executives; whether perhaps much more of the training is not too theoretical, the students having but little first-hand knowledge of the actual living conditions of their clients.

#### AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

Three suggestions for the undertaking of actual international programs were made to the conference.

1. That the International Conference be a permanent organization.

2. That the conference should consider the problem of an international social organization as a separate section and that it should consider also the possibility of establishing an international social review as the official organ of all the national societies operating within the framework.

3. That the members of the Conference should support in their own countries the idea of the establishment of an International Social School in connection with an international Social Research Department for the education of a new general staff for all countries and for the reorganization of social service in all the cooperating countries.



## COOPERATION IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY<sup>1</sup>

ALBERT J. SAUNDERS

*University of Madras, India*

AT LEAST 70 per cent of India's vast population is attached directly or indirectly to the land, so that the ever-present economic problems of the country are rural, and have to do with rural indebtedness, the place and power of the *sowcar* or money-lender, and the need for credit. The Famine Commission of 1880 referring to these chronic conditions said: "We learn from evidence collected from all parts of India that about one-third of the land-owning class are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that about an equal portion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves." Things were even worse as reported by the Famine Commission in 1901: "In his evidence before us the Chief Secretary of the Bombay Government said that 28 per cent of the land in Broach had passed into the possession of the money-lending classes, and from a report of the Collector of Ahmedabad, it appears that in his district, expropriation of the land-owners has also made considerable way. Taking all these statements into account and comparing them with the evidence we have received, we think it probable that at least one-fourth of the cultivators in the Bombay Presidency have lost possession of their lands, that less than one-fifth are free from debt and the remainder are in debt to a greater or less extent."

<sup>1</sup> The recently published Report of the Committee on Cooperation in Madras, 1927-28, affords one the opportunity of reviewing the progress of the movement of Cooperation in Southern India.

These reports showed conditions to be so bad that something had to be attempted to relieve the ryots. Sir William Wedderburn's scheme for providing capital to agricultural classes on reasonable terms having fallen through, the Madras Government took up the matter, and began to explore the possibility of the cooperative movement to meet the needs of the Indian situation. Accordingly, in 1892, Sir Frederick Nicholson (then Mr. Nicholson) was placed on special duty to study the theory and practice of agricultural banks in Europe, and to suggest ways and means whereby a similar movement might be introduced in India. Mr. Nicholson issued a valuable and exhaustive report on the systems which he found prevalent in Europe; the action taken on that report by the Government of Madras marks the beginning of the cooperative movement in South India. Nicholson said: "Find Raiffeisen and the problem of Cooperation is solved." Nicholson saw that what South India needed was an adaptation of the German system of agricultural societies to make possible cheaper credit, and so it is along those lines that the cooperative movement has developed in the Madras Presidency. In 1904 there was passed into law The Cooperative Credit Societies' Act, and immediately the movement began to bear fruit, as the following table will reveal:

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Societies</i>	<i>No. of Members</i>	<i>Working Capital</i>
1906-7	843	90,844	Rs. 23,71,683
1907-8	1,357	149,160	44,14,086
1908-9	1,963	180,388	82,32,225
1909-10	3,428	224,397	1,24,68,312
1910-11	5,321	305,058	2,03,05,500
1911-12	8,177	403,318	2,35,74,162

After the revision of the Act in 1912 there was another period of rapid growth, for in 1914 the number of societies in British India had increased to 14,881, the number of

members to 695,998, and the working capital to Rs. 7,45,-31,725. By this time Government considered that the system should be thoroughly reviewed; accordingly, the MacLagan Committee was constituted in October, 1914, with terms of reference as follows:

The primary duty of the Committee will be to examine whether the movement, especially in its higher stages and in its financial aspect, is progressing on sound lines and to suggest any measures of improvement which seem to be required. For this purpose the enquiry will be directed primarily to an examination of such matters as the constitution and working of Central and Provincial Banks, the financial connection between the various parts of the cooperative organization, the audit, inspection and management of all classes of societies, the utilization of the reserve and the manner in which reserve funds should be exhibited in the annual accounts. At the same time the Government of India do not desire rigidly to limit the scope of the enquiry, and the Committee may, at its discretion, consider and make recommendations regarding any important aspect of the cooperative movement.

The Committee published their report in 1915; the activity of the cooperative movement in India at the present time may be said to rest upon the Act of 1912, as interpreted by the MacLagan Committee.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the period of the war and the reconstruction after the war the cooperative movement has made steady progress, as will be seen in the following table:

Year	No. of Societies	No. of Members	Central Banks	Working Capital Lakhs
1913-14	1,333	100,537	8	Rs. 123,21
1918-19	3,676	244,297	26	305,21
1923-24	9,785	616,628	33	839,27
1925-26	11,973	748,783	32	1,132,80
1926-27	13,357	830,522	32	1,334,34

<sup>2</sup> Bhatnagar's *Cooperative Organization in British India*, pp. 37-8.

Of the 13,357 registered societies on June 30th, 1927, no less than 11,000 with 583,315 members were agricultural credit societies. The remaining societies consisted of non-credit agricultural societies, such as—for purchase and sale, for leasing lands, for irrigation, for land reclamation, and for cattle insurance; and non-agricultural societies, as for example—credit societies, house-building, for purchase and sale, and for labour contracts. From the nature of these societies it will be readily seen the lines on which the cooperative movement has developed in India. The following are the objects which have been held before the people:

- 1—to borrow funds from members or others to be utilized for loans to members for useful purposes;
- 3—to act as the agent for the joint purchase of the agricultural, domestic, and other requirements of its members, and for the joint sale of their produce;
- 3—to purchase and own implements, machinery or animals for hire to its members;
- 4—to disseminate a knowledge of the latest improvements in agriculture, handicrafts, and weaving, and encourage its members to adopt them; and
- 5—generally to encourage thrift, self-help, and cooperation among its members.<sup>3</sup>

During the past dozen years the Madras Presidency has been applying the principle of cooperation in a number of interesting ways, some of which have been highly successful. There came into existence in 1912 a new kind of central bank, known as the "banking union." The first one to be established was the Madura-Ramnad Central Bank, and it admitted both individuals and societies as shareholders. It had as its function not only to finance, but also the supervision and control of all its affiliated societies.

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Committee on Cooperation in Madras, 1927-28, pp. 8, 9.

That question of supervision and proper control of societies forced itself into prominent notice in 1910, when the number of societies became so large that the Registrar of Cooperative Societies and his staff could not adequately supervise them. The first non-credit society organized in the Presidency was the now famous Madras Triplicane Co-operative Stores, registered in 1905. They have had a wonderful success, and their success has been repeated in other places as well. Other applications of cooperation are to be found in the societies for the depressed, backward, and similar classes; Madras fishermen societies, the reclamation of the Kallars (criminal tribes) in Madura and Tanjore; labour societies; building societies; irrigation and land reclamation societies; weavers' societies; agricultural demonstration and supply societies; and land mortgage banks and supervising unions. Thus it will be seen that the ramifications of cooperation are extensive in the Madras Presidency, and a tremendous amount of really valuable work is being done. Great progress has been made since 1914, when the last Committee of enquiry did their work; it was now thought to be time for another review of the movement, accordingly on September 1, 1927, the Government of Madras announced their decision to appoint a committee to enquire into the present state of the cooperative movement in the Presidency; their report has recently been published, and it is a carefully prepared document.

The Committee consisted of a carefully selected number of men, Indian and European, official and non-official, who were in close touch with the activities of cooperation in the South under the Presidentship of C. A. H. Townsend, Esq., C.E., I.C.S. The following were their terms of reference:

- 1—To examine the progress made in the cooperative movement in this Presidency since the Maclagan Committee's report;



- 2—to enquire into the present position and lines of development of the movement and to make recommendations;
- 3—to examine the practice and organization of the financial system and to make recommendations;
- 4—to make recommendations in regard to propaganda, supervision and control of societies and finance; and
- 5—to examine the position in regard to cooperative distribution, production and sale, and to make recommendations.

The Committee have this to say as their general finding on the state of the cooperative enterprise:

We consider that the cooperative movement in the Presidency has done good, especially in the general reduction in the rate of interest charged by ordinary money-lenders on their loans to cultivators. But much remains to be done; the movement has not yet touched, even nominally, the lives of more than ten per cent of the people; in many respects it requires correction, in some a change of system, and in some additional attention.<sup>4</sup>

The most important part of the Report is that which deals with Problems and Proposals, which I shall refer to briefly. The failure to make a division between agricultural loans into long and short-term loans is in the opinion of the Committee the most unsatisfactory feature of the cooperative movement at the present time. This fault brings in its train the large amount of overdues, which is a very serious defect in the present organization. Accordingly, the Committee have put forward a proposal to divide agricultural loans into long-term and short-term loans, and they consider this the most important of all their proposals. "We have found during our tours that the localities in which cooperation is healthiest are those which have laid greatest stress on short-term business. On the other hand, in certain districts where long-term business

<sup>4</sup> Report of the Committee on Cooperation in Madras, 1927-28, p. 37.

preponderates, some of the evidence was to the effect that the ryots were deeper in debt than formerly."

As all workers in this field know, the crux of the matter is in frequent inspection and adequate supervision of the individual societies. The Committee say we lay the responsibility for inspection of primary societies on central banks, and for supervision on unions and federations; if this work is carried out well and faithfully it will go a long way towards making for success in the practice of cooperation. It should be remembered that the movement owes its origin to poverty, and to the need felt to afford some relief to poor and helpless people. Cooperation aims at getting people to believe in themselves, and to believe that they can help themselves. In other words, as emphasized by the Rochdale Pioneers: "Cooperation is a faith as well as a practice." In this connection good work has been done in organizing societies for the depressed, backward, and similar classes. These people are extremely poor; they have no property which they can pledge. Their only asset is their labour and character, and these form the only basis for their credit. Cooperation in their cases must be employed to stimulate thrift, to increase their earning capacity, and to secure for them a larger margin of income by better marketing. The special problems which they offer center round organization, supervision, and finance. Accordingly, the Committee recommend that the Kallar and Criminal Tribe societies should continue under, and other similar ones should be transferred to, the Government Labour Department. On the same principle, they consider that the Fisheries Department should be responsible for all fishermen's societies. Depressed class societies should be affiliated, wherever possible, to existing unions of caste societies, as is the rule at present. All such societies should look to the Christian Central Cooperative Bank for super-

vision and help, for it is practically the Central Bank for depressed class and labour societies throughout the Presidency.

As agriculture is by far the most important industry in the Presidency there is great need of organizing agricultural demonstration and supply societies. Some work has been done, and the results are encouraging as far as they go, but the Committee consider that very much more remains to be done in starting societies for better farming; for the cooperative purchase of manures, ploughs; for the cooperative sale of crops; for the provision of finance to enable the cultivator to withhold his crops from the market at harvest time, so as to secure the advantage of better prices later on, all these and other suggestions offer means of increasing the cultivator's income. The Committee strongly urge the formation of loan and sale societies for the purpose of increasing the wealth of ryots, by enabling them to withhold selling their crops till they can command better prices. Every assistance should be given to this form of cooperation.

Next to farming, weaving is the most important industry in the Presidency, but the weavers as a class are woefully ignorant and are sunken in poverty. Here is a wide-open opportunity for the cooperative movement, and yet very little successful work is being done to help this class of people. Their problem is largely one of marketing; at present the supply is in excess of the demand in their particular locality, owing to the introduction of the fly-shuttle. Cooperative selling and the opening up of new markets is the way in which their salvation lies. In some centers like Madura building societies are popular, and are being successfully managed; this form of cooperation affords considerable help to the steady income-earner, and enables him to acquire a home for himself. In the matter of co-

operative stores, some are working well, but the condition of many is unsatisfactory. For the village population a joint system of purchase is recommended as having a much greater chance of success. The Committee endorsed heartily the new movement for "rural reconstruction," and think that whereas the cooperative movement in India has done good work along the lines of credit societies, the time has come for a more forward movement along non-credit departments in their work for the good of the country. They say:

We desire to emphasize an opinion, which is based on the evidence of many witnesses, that not enough is now being done to coordinate the work of the "nation-building" departments, which do not, we consider, at present realize sufficiently what a powerful instrument for the furtherance of their work is available to them in the cooperative movement. We therefore suggest that Government consider the advisability of directing district officers of the Cooperative, Agricultural, Veterinary, and Industries Departments to have periodical conferences to coordinate the activities of their departments, and to submit reports to Government of the progress made therein. The presidents of central banks and federations should be invited, whenever possible, to attend these conferences.<sup>5</sup>

Fundamental to the success of this movement for self-help in India is confidence in one another, which must be built up on education and training. "Hence the first condition obviously is that every member should have a knowledge of the principles of cooperation, if this cooperation is to be real and not a sham."<sup>6</sup>

We have been very much impressed by the lack of knowledge of even the commonplaces of cooperation shown, not only by the members of primary societies, but also by office-bearers, and even by the staff employed by the various non-official agencies. We believe that

<sup>5</sup> Report of the Committee on Cooperation in Madras, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Calvert's *Law and Principles of Cooperation in India*, p. 11.

many of the unsatisfactory features in the present conditions of the movement are directly attributable to this ignorance. Even the official staff is, we consider, in many respects insufficiently trained for the proper discharge of its duties. Too much importance cannot be attached to the necessity for adequate education in cooperative principles of all concerned in the movement.

One matter of more than ordinary interest is the question of land mortgage banks, both primary and central; the Committee see in this practice a means of real help to the agriculturists. They say: "We are of the opinion that every effort should be made to form primary mortgage banks, wherever possible, to provide long-term credit for the ryot. . . . We are of the opinion also that very slow progress will be made unless a central land mortgage bank is formed in Madras to float debentures on mortgages transferred to it by primary land mortgage banks, and to finance the latter out of the proceeds of such debentures. . . . If our proposals are adopted, we feel sure that large funds of Indian insurance companies will be invested in the debentures of the central land mortgage bank. We understand that these companies suffer from a lack of suitable mortgage investments, which form a large portion of the investments of insurance companies in England. We consider that Government should take all possible steps to assist in this direction."

A good deal of attention was paid to the question of reserve funds and fluid resources. The Cooperative Societies Act makes no reference to the maintenance of fluid resources; that is, to the necessity of societies holding a certain proportion of their assets in a liquid form to meet the claims made from time to time by depositors. The conclusion at which the Committee arrived by a majority, but not unanimously, on this matter "is that the existing arrangements with regard to fluid resources are sound, and



that a change in them is not called for. We however recommend that, in order to make the existing arrangements absolutely safe, steps be taken to ensure that the continuance of these facilities is made obligatory on the Imperial Bank by some statutory provision, contractual guarantee, or other suitable method. . . . We feel very strongly that the holding of appreciable tangible liquid assets by the central banks is very necessary as a protection to the agriculturist."

What is needed in the Madras Presidency is an educational campaign putting forth the claims and advertising the advantages of cooperation. In this connection the Committee have made a novel and valuable suggestion, which ought to be tried: "We suggest that if funds permit, a small fleet of demonstration motor vans should be organized, which should tour the Presidency in charge of an officer with special propagandist abilities, and give ocular demonstration to the ryots of the practical value of cooperation. In certain other provinces a demonstration train is being used for the purpose. But we consider motor vans would be more useful in this Presidency. We understand that the Agricultural Department has a similar project under consideration, and we recommend collaboration with that department in the matter."

## SUPERSTITIONS AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS

ROLAND M. MILLER

*Sacramento Junior College, California*

IT IS SOMETIMES said that the greatest value of a college education lies in releasing the mind from prejudice and permitting it to look at life in an open-minded fashion. To be able and willing to see, accept, and weigh evidence on all subjects on which we must give judgments or opinion, is rightly held to be one of the most important accomplishments of a citizen in a democracy. To be able to suspend judgment until a greater sufficiency of evidence is marshalled and to be able to initiate action on the basis of tentative conclusions (working hypotheses) in the absence of final proof, with a willingness to make corrections as the horizon of knowledge widens, is as necessary as it is difficult. As mankind has staggered upward through trial and error from his humble origins, he has compensated for his lack of knowledge by embracing beliefs, thereby satisfying a native emotional insistence for definite conclusions. It was more important that a philosophy of life be definite than that it be logical or true.<sup>1</sup> Beliefs bring peace of mind. To question beliefs and search for facts is discomforting. It can only be done by an objective method that minimizes the emotional. This is the method of science and a mark of modernity. The objective point of view is alike necessary for the searcher of knowledge, the scientist himself, and for the acceptor of knowledge, the layman or student. This is the scientific attitude.

How far the college performs the function of creating this scientific attitude is hard to determine but a good deal

<sup>1</sup> Truth is here used in the sense of "according to fact."

of evidence seems to point in the direction of a none too optimistic answer. It is probably fair to assume that, under present educational conditions, the extent to which the scientific point of view affects the thinking of the college-bred is largely determined in the first two years. Freshmen and sophomores are presumably laying background of a general and cultural nature, while students in the "upper division" tend to be absorbed in the technical training of their specialties.<sup>2</sup>

The writer has for some time followed with interest the transitions in the thinking of the "lower division" students.<sup>3</sup> One of the more important features has to do with the deadening effect produced by faith in superstitious notions. Belief in superstitions can hardly be compatible with the scientific attitude of mind.<sup>4</sup> In an endeavor to

<sup>2</sup> The distinction between "lower division" and "upper division" is probably far less significant than we are led to believe. On the other hand, there is a tendency to designate the "lower division" as "secondary education," especially in discussions on the junior college movement. Whatever educational reorganization may have in store for us it is fair to say that, up to the present, high school instruction has remained largely descriptive rather than analytical, the latter being reserved for "lower division" instruction. It seems appropriate, for instance, that social institutions should be described before they are criticized. This difference may be illustrated by comparing high school civics with college political science or high school economics with the principles of economics as given in college. It is doubtful if, under our present organization, the "principles" of any subject should be taught in grades 11 or 12.

<sup>3</sup> In certain universities "citizenship" or orientation courses are prescribed for freshmen and make it possible to emphasize the nature and importance of the scientific point of view. The intellectual balance gained by the student is often refreshing and liberally repays the effort expended in attempting to teach him how to think. It is not necessary to limit this to orientation or philosophy courses but should characterize all instruction that has arisen above mere description.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Superstition and Education*, by F. B. Dressler. University of California Publication—Education No. 5. This study "grew out of an attempt to discover the reasons why students furnishing the data seemed unable to look at the problem of life and mind in a scientific way" (p. 7). Eight hundred and seventy-five students were asked to submit superstitions and indicate if they believed them or not. The result was 7,176 confessions, of which 44.9 per cent registered belief (p. 146-47). By this method, however, there is no way of knowing how many of the 875 believed or disbelieved in superstitions. For his list of common superstitions see pages 190-93. The present writer cannot agree with Mr. Dressler when he says "such reactions are neither under control of the will nor subject to the negating influence of reason. They are so peculiarly organic and compelling that they beget feelings which so dominate the conscious life that they cannot be put aside voluntarily or overcome by any show of scientific disapproval" (p. 149).

get evidence on the extent of belief in superstitions among college students, a questionnaire was prepared and given to 395 students attending one of our largest junior colleges.<sup>5</sup> The questionnaire contained, in the first part, 20 well-known superstitions and students were asked to indicate the degree of their belief therein by marking each of them with 0, 1, 2, or 3, according to whether they had no effect, little effect, moderate effect, or intense effect on them. By parallel columns it was possible to register the degree of this effect on their thinking, their plans, and their behavior. To take the students off guard and get the truth of the matter as far as possible these items were referred to as omens or signs rather than as superstitions. Students were also asked not to sign their names. The second part of the questionnaire was reserved for the enumeration of any peculiar omens that had in the past affected their actions.

The superstitions selected for the questionnaire were as follows:<sup>6</sup>

1. Carrying a rabbit's foot.
2. Sitting thirteen at a table.
3. A black cat.
4. A falling star.
5. Putting the left shoe on first.
6. Knocking on wood.
7. Lighting three cigarettes with one match.

<sup>5</sup> Sacramento Junior College. By being given simultaneously to a few of the larger classes about 50 per cent of the students in average attendance were reached. The group is probably "unselected." The fact that about 50 per cent of the student body is Form B (unrecommended to university) is of doubtful significance.

<sup>6</sup> The popularity of the superstitions was found to vary according to whether they referred to plans or behavior, but fell in groups. The efficacy of knocking on wood stood alone as first choice. The next three in varying order involved the horseshoe, walking under a ladder, and the black cat. The four-leaf clover was given fifth choice in both. Friday the 13th, mirror breaking, and sitting thirteen at a table followed in order.

A measure of prejudice against superstitions appears in *Measurement of Fair Mindedness*, by G. B. Watson. Columbia Teachers College Contributions—Education No. 176.

8. Breaking a mirror.
9. Looking at a new moon over the right shoulder.
10. A horseshoe.
11. Walking under a ladder.
12. Standing under an open umbrella in the house.
13. Friday the thirteenth.
14. A four-leaf clover.
15. Getting out of bed on the unaccustomed side.
16. Picking up a pin.
17. Taking animals on a boat against their will.
18. Seeing the first star in the evening.
19. Either this: Shaving before an examination  
or this: Changing clothes put on wrong side out.

Upon tabulation it was found that about 20 per cent claimed to be unaffected by any of the enumerated superstitions; 80 per cent admitted being affected to a greater or less degree by one or more of them; 32 per cent were affected but slightly and for the most part by a few favorites on the list. More than half of these used the indicator 1 in four cases or less and a zero in all others. About 21 per cent were moderately affected by at least some of the superstitions on the list; 25 per cent admitted that they were intensely affected by one or more. Among those who were intensely affected by some of the above superstitions was a large number who were totally unaffected by the other items on the list.

Ten per cent used the second part of the questionnaire to suggest additional omens influencing their actions. They furnish some interesting illustrations of the inadequacy of popular thinking. Unwarranted cause and effect relationships, as might be expected, characterized most of the answers, as for example:

"The jumping of the left eye causes me to worry because I either hear bad news or see a fuss." "Studying in the same room in which I studied when I received a good mark



helps my luck." "Wearing a certain string of beads always affects my luck." "For three years Friday the 13th has been unlucky. The first year the family was nearly asphyxiated. The second year the house burned down. The third year I was in an automobile wreck."

A marked tendency to rationalize is evidenced by such answers as the following:

"None of these omens have ever affected my actions but a week before an examination I never shave." "The only thing that has ever affected me has been a black cat. But I am not superstitious so it don't worry me. My good omen is No. 14. Anything good always happens to me on the 14th. My lucky number is 14." One student claimed, in part 2 of the questionnaire, to be unaffected by "omens" but admitted, in part 1, that he was "intensely" affected by breaking a mirror. In all these answers it was noticeable that the element of "bad luck" figured oftener than did "good luck," showing possibly the relative place of fear in the minds of the superstitious.

The important point of this study is not the precise percentages submitted. Convincing statistics on the extent of belief in superstitions must await more comprehensive inquiry. But the general results noted herein seem significant in as much as they indicate that the scientific attitude of mind, which is incompatible with superstition and obscurantism, is not very wide-spread among college students of freshman and sophomore grade. After making liberal allowances for further emancipation in the junior and senior years,<sup>7</sup> indications seem to justify the fear that the college-bred are affected far too little by the scientific point of view. Such a condition stands as a challenge to the teaching profession. Education consists not only of subject matter but of attitudes and methods of approach. In so far as we fail to instill the scientific point of view we fail to establish the foundations of modern education.

<sup>7</sup> Transition towards scientific-mindedness may be considered as a process extending, for some students, over the four college years. Doubtless a survey of graduating seniors would show some decline in superstition. Nevertheless, it is probably true that changes in mental attitudes which appear in "lower division" students are more frequent and far-reaching.

## SOCIAL THOUGHT IN EMILE ZOLA<sup>1</sup>

NORMAN A. BENNETTON

*Johns Hopkins University*

BECAUSE OF his outspoken attacks upon the firmly established institutions of France, the army, the church, and the judicial system, Emile Zola has rested under a cloud of disapprobation, so that his works have not been given the careful study which is necessary not only for the realization of their true purpose but also for the correct comprehension of them. It is only at a very recent date, now that the first complete edition of his works is appearing,<sup>2</sup> that some interest is being taken, not indeed to proclaim Zola as a literary genius, but to represent him as one of the first writers who combined sociological studies with the novel form of expression in a frank exposure of the vices and ignorance of his generation.

His novels have been, in great part, attacked for their immorality. Zola has emphasized and perhaps over-emphasized the physiological and sexual side of life. It was his expressed theory that naturalism goes merely into the animal part of life, while the spiritual can be ignored. He did not believe that anything should be hidden from view; "the laugh which Molière cast over human vileness, the light archness of La Fontaine were never his."<sup>3</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> Editorial Note: a selection from a Master's thesis prepared in the Department of French, University of Southern California, under the direction of Professor L. W. Riddle.

<sup>2</sup> The edition of François Bernouard in 50 volumes began to appear in June, 1928, at the Librairie Cie. Française, Paris.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Vizatelly, *Emile Zola, Novelist and Reformer*, London, Lane, 1904, p. 337.

did he describe the wrong part of society when he emphasized the animal side, while he was portraying its vices? He took us into the Montmartre district of Paris to describe a family destined to become brutes because of being saturated with alcohol; he led us into the private life of the courtesan class, which, I believe, was never noted for its spiritual existence; he took us to the mines of Northern France, and to the miners bestialized through hard work and hunger. When we take his work as a whole we see that Zola merely demonstrates how the vices of modern society reduce men—whom, we must always remember, he greatly pitied because of their misery—to animals. But—and here is where the quarrel between him and the critics arose—he never “interlarded his references to evil with pious ejaculations and moral precepts.” His moral is found in his articles written in periodicals and journals which hostile critics never troubled to read. If Zola had been asked, “Why should you only portray vices and evil people? Are there no good folk in the world?” “Why,” he would have answered, “should I portray good folk who do not need reforming? My work is to fight only against the fallacies of the social system, and the superstitions which cause the vices found among the people. And am I to fight against vices without first stating them? I take as my motto: *Tout savoir pour tout guérir*. I shall not beautify vice as the average social novel does, I shall not make my courtesans angels and my seducers gods. Nobody will wish to follow the example of my hero and heroine, because I shall picture them too repulsively.”

We should always remember Zola's fundamental idea of the purpose of a novel: “le roman n'a pas que le but de peindre, il doit aussi corriger.”<sup>4</sup> Thomas Carlyle once remarked somewhere that “Great Britain contains some

<sup>4</sup> Heinrich Mann, “Zola vu de l'Allemagne,” *Nouvelles littéraires*, 8 octobre 1927.

thirty millions of souls, mostly fools," and Emile Zola did not consider the majority of humanity as being any too wise, but believed that, because of their ignorance and stupidity, life was merely an existence for the vast masses, and to describe this existence he created "d'épopées sociologiques."

The time of the Second French Empire in the reign of Napoleon III was a period well suited to the work of a reformer. Having commenced in 1851 in blood, it continued in corruption until 1870, and on its course it was speedily dragging France and all sections of French society down with it to its final collapse in the "*débâcle*." This fact seems to have been altogether overlooked by the critics when not viewing Zola's work as a vast whole; not only is it the history of a single family, but the rise, the gradual demoralization, and the final downfall of the Empire. The degeneracy of the times was the stock subject in contemporary literature, but it was nothing short of justifiable under so vicious a regime as that of Napoleon III; so depraved was it that in recent times no other period has approached its moral deterioration. Historians are notably conservative, but Pierre de La Gorce reveals to us some of the waste practiced at the time:

During this time in official circles, there was nothing but graft, banquets and amusements. At no time were fire-works, military reviews and public spectacles so numerous. The doors of the Tuileries opened for a magnificent ball where nearly 5000 people filed before the gaze of the president. Ministers, high officials, generals, all vied with one another in wealth and in civil and military honors.<sup>5</sup>

With such an excellent setting for him, Zola carefully placed and directed his imaginary family through the ins and outs of the vicious society, determined that the world should know to what grave degeneracy, to what serious

<sup>5</sup> *Histoire du Second Empire*, V. I, liv. 1, sec. 7, p. 81.

misunderstandings between classes a nation which had an overabundance of wealth and an insufficient amount of educational force might go.

With *La Curée* is displayed the money-acquiring, the money-squandering class of the Empire. It is a powerful though not altogether pleasant picture, shortly after the restoration of the Empire in 1851, of a people passionately seeking wealth, excitement, and pleasure by means of hazardous business transactions. This fever of reckless speculation is aided in its fury by Baron Haussmann's plan of the transformation of Paris. It was Zola's evident intent to display a worker's greed for money and desire for social standing. Grown rich, this worker will, if necessary, crush his former companions, or indeed deliver himself to debauchery in order to reap more profit. Then having obtained a fortune he will, or at least cause those around him, to deteriorate morally because of an excess of pleasure. The hero of the novel, Sacard, became a member of this *genre of nouvel enrichi*, which, according to Zola, is every particle as culpable in their treatment of the workers as was previously the true aristocracy.

As to the consequences of this frenzied and tawdry life, Zola affords us the moral aspect of the question in the intrigue of the novel. With all her wealth and the consequent fêtes, frivolities and pleasures, Renée, the heroine, was not contented. So monotonous did life become for her that finally she assumed the rôle of a modern Phaedra, with her husband, Sacard, condoning the *liaison* in order to extract money from her. And as a result of her years of vice and immorality, the author finally draws for us this picture of her:

She was ageing; dark rings were forming around her eyes, her nose was becoming thinner, the pouting of her lips would turn to nervous, embarrassed laughing. It was the end of a woman.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *La Curée*, Paris, Charpentier, 1924, p. 372.



And it was from this one woman that a vicious circle extended. To such a degree did this strike Zola that he thought it his duty as a reformer to reveal in what way this corollary of immoderate wealth was slowly impairing the moral fibre of the nation when he wrote:

The city was nothing but a great debauch of money and women. Vice, coming from above, flowing into the brooks, spread out in the pools, rose again in the fountains of gardens, only to fall back on the roofs, in a fine and penetrating rain. . . . One could feel the mental derangement, the gilded, voluptuous nightmare of a city mad with its money and flesh.<sup>7</sup>

With *Nana*, Zola was destined to expose to view the "canker which was eating into the social life of the régime."<sup>8</sup> It is the sequel to his description of vice in *La Curée*, but in place of the desire for money being depicted, a more detailed portrayal of the immorality resultant from this lucre is presented. It is not now the *nouveaux riches* that became contaminated, but rather the old nobility slipping down the moral slope to the ultimate 'smash-up.'

In *L'Assommoir*, mentioned below, *Nana's* youthful environment is treated with meticulous care by the author, and so successfully are the two books associated that we are not for one moment hesitant in believing that Zola found the aristocracy blamable for the curse that had descended upon them. By reason of their indifference to the conditions of the poorer classes—lack of education, poor housing conditions, devitalizing toil, the drink evil—a child of their apathy was returning as retribution to taint them with the vices among which she had been bred. Comparing her to a '*mouche d'or*,' we read:

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>8</sup> J. G. Patterson, *A Zola Dictionary*; "Introduction," p. XVII.

A courtesan born of four or five generations of drunkards, her blood spoiled by a long heredity of misery and drunkenness which took the form in her, of a derangement of her sex. She had grown up in Faubourg on the streets of Paris, and when big, beautiful, with superb flesh, like a plant of a dung-hill, she avenged the beggars and outcasts of whom she was the product. With her the rottenness which was allowed to ferment in the people, rose and made rotten the aristocracy. She was becoming a force of nature, a ferment of destruction, without wishing it herself, corrupting and disorganizing Paris.<sup>9</sup>

Although merely incidental in this novel, it might be well to mention that Zola here condemned, as he did more forcefully in *Pot-Bouille*, the perilous system of the dowry. More particularly harmful in the bourgeois society, it presented here a serious enough aspect to warrant the author's regard. To him it was a method of marriage especially suitable for the augmentation of the Nana class.

The *bourgeoisie* was the social class which afforded Zola the greatest opportunity to wield his most caustic pen. Like Flaubert, he appears to have had an intolerable aversion for the middle class, considering its hypocrisies and its smugness as the greatest retarding force in the society of his time. After having successfully laid bare the vices of the various ranks and classes, Zola next had the audacity to reprehend the depravity of his greatest reading public, the eminently respectable, snobbish, aristocracy-aping *bourgeois* and *petit-bourgeois*. The conception of *Pot-Bouille* resulted from an article written by Zola upon the "Adultery in the Middle Class," and while the majority of the details of the novel had been gleaned from his personal experience, and other items procured from his friends, it was the book which called forth the greatest clamour of indignation by reason of its exaggeration. Zola himself was

<sup>9</sup> *Nana*, Paris, Charpentier, 1926, Vol. I, p. 236.

astounded at the number of cavillers, declaring that this was the clearest and most condensed of his novels.

To the author, hypocrisy was the true vice of the *bourgeoisie*. It is the principal topic of the *Pot-Bouille*, and is revealed to us by means of a contrast between the public avowal of righteousness, and the actual intimate life of the middle-class. Constantly we are informed that the apartment-house, the scene of the action of this novel, is inhabited by folk particularly *comme il faut*. As we proceed to read the book, we come to the realization that this is merely ironical and rather is it that depravity and vice are rampant, while the cause of the great prevalence of adultery is the dowry system of marriage. With this as his basis of argument he sketches the life of a young girl of marriageable age in a *petit-bourgeois* family of limited means. Instead of proper nourishment the mother purchases finery, escorting her daughter to *soirées* where a prospective husband might be discovered, who with the vague promise of a dowry would consent to a marriage, which conceived in cupidity and born in indifference would terminate in disaster; for when finery, to which the young girl has been accustomed, is not forthcoming, she abandons herself to dissipation so that she may live as formerly. Thus "les mères enseignent aux filles sans fortune tout un cours de prostitution décente et permise."<sup>10</sup> This type of education, according to Zola, was gnawing into the French society of the last century.

Realistic in its glimpse of the egotism of the shop-keeping and petty-trading classes, *Le Ventre de Paris* is "the story of the disgusting and iniquitous plebeian gossip, which ends in ruining a good man."<sup>11</sup> Two aims are re-

<sup>10</sup> *Pot-Bouille*, Paris, Charpentier, 1919, p. 428.

<sup>11</sup> E. de Amicis, *Studies of Paris*, New York, Putnam, 1892.

vealed in this narrative woven around the Great Markets of Paris. In the first place, Zola makes an effective assault upon the system of justice and method of penal servitude in nineteenth century France, and, secondly, he studies the ignorance, the indifference to suffering, the apathy in all affairs not personal, and the egotism of the *petit-bourgeois*.

It is a strange coincidence that some twenty-five years later, Zola was to strive publicly for a man, Dreyfus, who had been condemned and sentenced to a living death in an unjust manner similar to the way in which the hero of this novel had been treated. The author chose an essentially good man who had sacrificed his youth so that his half-brother might be educated; tried and convicted on circumstantial evidence, and finally consigned him to a place, the abomination of a Christian country, *L'Ile du Diable*. The terrible treatment, the poisonous food, the exposure to pests and plagues, are vividly described. The man who had suffered these torments returned to Paris, only to find the world apathetic to injustice. How was it possible for these well-fed *bourgeois* to believe experiences they had not undergone? And should these tortures be true, what concern of theirs was it to alter the system? But this wronged man dreamed that all his life would be expended in overcoming this indifference to justice and injustice. His self-centered sister-in-law, annoyed with his continued presence, ultimately denounced him to the Administration for plotting against the country, and this primarily guiltless man, made a revolutionary by the system, is exiled again to his living death of penal servitude, an iniquity which made Zola, through the lips of an artist, exclaim, "Quels gredins sont les honnêtes hommes!"<sup>12</sup>

Probably none of Zola's novels aroused such an outcry of disapproval among the critics as *L'Assommoir*. Here

<sup>12</sup> *Le Ventre de Paris*, Paris, Charpentier, 1924, p. 358.

was a book to slander the masses, to insult the workingman. Nothing similar had ever been written before; no author had ever demonstrated in so minutely detailed a manner the misery, poverty, and the consequent vice of drink among the *tiers état*. Zola's aim was to depict the mortal ruin of a working-class family in the faubourgs of Paris. Through drunkenness, idleness and slackening of family ties, finally came shame and death. To answer the accusations of libel and slander upon the working class, Zola explains:

One must not conclude that the entire people is bad; they are only ignorant, and spoiled by the environment of rude labor and poverty in which they live.<sup>13</sup>

The scene of the action of the novel is very realistic. We see the houses sordid and dingy; the straggling procession of labourers emaciated and pinched through lack of nourishment and comfort; the drunkard lying snoring in the street; the stench and filth of the various *assommoirs* of the district; the young children purchasing small quantities of alcohol with a few sous, all this and more reveal Zola's mission of reform to arouse the public conscience to the defects of the society it condoned. Why one class should exist in destitution and wretchedness while another possessed an overabundance was the question that the author so frequently asked:

Oh, the perishing of the poor, empty entrails screaming hunger, the neant of chattering blasts cramming themselves with filthy things in this great Paris, so gilded and so smart.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *L'Assommoir*, Paris, Charpentier, 1927, "Preface," p. VI.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 212.



Was it surprising that this people should attempt to assuage their suffering in drink? Beneath a deep pathos Zola aimed to bring the curse of drink before the eyes of the nation by tracing a picture of the terrible vice. It was the canker of the masses, which exhausted their vitality and diminished their skill and will to work. He pointed out that drink is one of the greatest economic, physical, mental, and moral wastes that is found in the present system of wealth and ownership. Consequently it is evident that Zola, some fifty years ago, was one of the leaders in the crusade of Europe against the drink evil.<sup>15</sup>

The deplorable conditions of the miners in *Germinal* induces not only a feeling of compassion, but also speculation as to how much the status of the working-man has improved since this book was written. The meagerness of the pay, with the consequent scantiness of provisions, is aptly summarized by one of the miner's laments: "C'est vrai, si l'on avait du pain seulement!"<sup>16</sup> But poverty signified in addition to Zola long hours, unsanitary conditions, exhausting and mechanical toil, bad housing, bad food, lack of home comfort, lack of education and its usual concomitant, a too numerous family, the inability to take an interest in elevating things and healthy pastimes, the worry, the uncertainty and struggle of the miner's life. The conditions in the mines themselves were appalling. The confined spaces in which to work; the insupportable heat, often rising to 113°, in the cuttings; the harmful atmosphere charged with fire-damp; the onerous labour of children and young girls, all combine to form a picture of oppression and distress:

<sup>15</sup> It should however be noted that Zola did not consider that *wines* were injurious to the workers.

<sup>16</sup> *Germinal*, Paris, Charpentier, 1925, vol. I, p. 7.

They toiled like real brutes, at work that used formerly to be the punishment of galley-slaves, and many perished; all that, and not even to have meat on their tables in the evening. . . . they ate, but too little, just enough to sustain a living death, crushed by debts, hounded as if they stole their bread.<sup>17</sup>

Thus it will be self-evident that Zola's conception of reform was that "sin does not come through knowing too much, but through knowing too little, or harbouring falsehood."<sup>18</sup> To sum up then, I shall quote Zola's preface to *Germinal*, when it appeared serially in *Le Petit Rouennais*:

*Germinal* is a work of compassion, not a revolutionary work. In writing it my desire was to cry aloud to the happy ones of this world, to those who are the masters: "Take heed!" Look underground, observe all those unhappy beings toiling and suffering there: Perhaps there is still time to avoid a great catastrophe. But hasten to act justly, for otherwise, the peril is there: the earth will open, and the nations will be swallowed up in one of the most frightful convulsions known to the world's history.

I descended into the hell of Labour, if I concealed nothing, not even the degradation of that sphere, the shameful things engendered by misery and the huddling of human beings together as if they were mere cattle, it was because I wished the picture to be complete, with all its abominations, so as to draw tears from every eye at the spectacle of such a dolorous and pariah-like existence. Those things, no doubt, are not for young girls, but family people should read me. All of you who work, read what I have written and when you raise your voices for pity and justice my task will be accomplished.

Yes, a cry of pity, an appeal for justice, I ask no more. Should the soil still crack, should the disasters predicted convulse the world tomorrow, it will be because my voice will have remained unheard.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Germinal*, Vol. I, p. 185.

<sup>18</sup> T. Dickinson, "Zola's last word on Education," *Education*, April-May, 1905.

<sup>19</sup> Cited from E. A. Vizately, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

## LEADERSHIP AND ATTITUDES

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

*University of Southern California*

LEADERSHIP is the special influence that one person exercises over other persons.<sup>1</sup> It is manifested when one human being arouses the dormant attitudes of other persons, changes the attitudes of others, or arouses new attitudes in others. In each of these type-situations, the "other persons" are as important factors as the leader, and the process by which one person succeeds in affecting the attitudes of others is most important of all. In other words, there is always a social situation matrix wherein a leader and leadership operate. It is within this organic social unity that we must look if we would discern the meaning of leadership.

Autobiographies and biographies, the main sources for the study of leadership, are inadequate. As a rule they underestimate the importance of the social situation and social process phases of leadership. They emphasize the rôle of the leader but not of the led. The attitudes, including their natural history, of the followers as well as of the number of persons large or small who refuse to be led, are largely overlooked. References to these main considerations are often most superficial. A new type of autobiography is needed—one that will concentrate on the social situation, the social process, and the attitudes and values of all concerned.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the writer's definition of a leader in *Sociology and Social Research*, XII:173, in the article on "Leadership and Social Distance." "A leader is a person (1) who surpasses his fellows in achieving in some particular plane of activity, and (2) whose achievement is recognized by his fellows as being superior."

The nearest approach to this type of materials is the life history. But life history materials, so far, have usually been gathered with the view to studying the nature of social problems or of personal and social disorganization. The way that was opened by Thomas and Znaniecki promises well, although it has not been pursued far as yet.<sup>2</sup> Life histories of leaders as well as of the representative types of persons in the social situations in which the leaders have functioned would be invaluable for the scientific study of leadership.

The next most satisfactory data are obtained in a limited class of autobiographies to which persons like G. Stanley Hall or Mary Antin have made interesting contributions. These works center attention, in the main, on the psychological actions and reactions of the leaders themselves to their social environments. While they do not consider leadership distinctly as a social process, they throw light on reactions of one of the chief actors, namely, of the leader, in the whole social situation.

But even in as frank a work as Hall's autobiography,<sup>3</sup> the things that are said are often less significant than the things that evidently remain unsaid. Hall admitted that his autobiography had "certain reservations due to a cowardice which has caused me to fall below my own ideals and standards of unreservedness, and that certain passages are only keys to rooms in my house of life."<sup>4</sup> How evident it must be, therefore, that other autobiographies are woefully incomplete.

Many immigrants have bared the natural history of many of their life conflicts. Mary Antin's autobiography,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Knopf, New York, 1927, Vol. II: Ch. II.

<sup>3</sup> *The Confessions of a Psychologist*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1923.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 575.

<sup>5</sup> *The Promised Land*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1914.

one of the first of a long list of striking documents to appear, is somewhat typical of the whole group, for only a partial account apparently is given. The personal struggles that are described are those which on the whole are brought upon the author by harsh and impinging circumstances. Then come the accounts of the partial or complete overcoming of these difficulties, and resultant gains in status. Struggles which would mean a loss of status are not recounted. Autobiographies as a class give one-half of the story, as it were, namely, those personal struggles, whose descriptions do not detract from but add to personal status. The other half is probably more important, for the study of both leadership and of personality.

Biographies are at once more and less satisfactory than autobiographies. They take a more objective viewpoint, may have a better perspective, and may glimpse the whole social situation and even the social processes at work. But most writers of biographies either do not have a sociological background, or if they do, they fall into the traditional pitfalls. They are also weak in that they do not extract the all-significant attitudes and give them proper objectification. Where the authors do have a sense of sympathetic induction, they tend to "read into" the lives of their heroes or heroines many interpretations that are unjustified.<sup>6</sup>

If the leader is one who arouses, changes, or creates new attitudes in the lives of other persons, then the study of leadership must deal with the attitudes of these "other persons." In fact they become one of the chief sources of leadership. The natural history of all these attitudes and of the antecedent experiences which account for them is

<sup>6</sup> Another important source of materials for the study of leadership is found in the results of leadership research. An early and valuable study of this type was made by Professor Eben Mumford, and published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XII:216-240, 367-397, 500-531. Dr. Mumford develops the idea that leadership develops in connection with the crises "entering into the social process."



needed. These attitudes, experiences, and life organizations, and how they have been aroused, changed, or created anew, tend to become the main objects for leadership study, as much as the leader himself. They are what the leader himself usually studies.

It is often the potential followers who influence the leader as much as the leader influences the followers.<sup>7</sup> It was Simmel who was one of the first to point out how the leader is subservient to the followers, how the followers may "walk out" on their leader, how they may refuse to respond or to be led, how they may choose imprisonment rather than obey the orders of some autocratic leader, and how the leader fears any negative or antagonistic responses that will lower his own status.<sup>8</sup> The well-established and relatively permanent behavior patterns, the urge for status, and the innumerable attitudes of the potential followers, are all dynamic and powerful forces that any would-be leader must treat respectfully. None of these may be wantonly violated.

To arouse the dormant attitudes of one's fellows and become a leader is relatively easy. By being enthusiastic along traditional lines of activity, by ballyhooing, by raising the cry of "danger," and by the use of other cheap devices, a member of a group may shoot up into the rank of leader without much difficulty.

To change human attitudes requires greater skill. The use of indirect suggestion, the setting of new, appropriate, and attractive examples, the creation of a pleasing atmosphere favorable to the desired change, the changing of the

<sup>7</sup> In treatises such as E. B. Gowin, *The Executive and his Control of Men* (Macmillan, 1915), and W. D. Scott and D. T. Howard, *Influencing Men in Business* (Ronald, 1928), the important role of the potential followers and of their attitudes is indirectly present on nearly every page.

<sup>8</sup> *The Social Philosophy of Georg Simmel*, by Nicholas J. Spykman, University of Chicago Press, 1925, pp. 95 ff. Also, *Soziologie* by Georg Simmel, Leipzig, 1923, 135 ff.

followers' environmental conditions in ways to arouse pleasant feelings regarding the proposed changes—these are some of the techniques that create leadership of a higher order than is represented by the standpatter or ballyhoo type of leader.

To arouse entirely new attitudes and a new creative type of followers is the supreme height of leadership. To arouse unsuspected possibilities and originalities in other persons makes for the greatest leadership. The techniques are often those of the superior teacher, case-worker, parent, who challenge and give heavy responsibilities, who set forth unique opportunities, who make the impossible seem possible, who by deed or word arouse their followers to superhuman effort.<sup>9</sup>

Every age develops leaders that bespeak its fears, its longings, its creative urges. Established culture values represent in a peculiar way the groundwork of leadership. Social momentum or social stagnation are equally important desiderata. As a social process, leadership is that social interstimulation which causes a number of people to set out toward an old goal with new zest or a new goal with hopeful courage,—with different persons keeping different paces. The foremost is the leader, but without the others he never would have started, or having started he would not be a leader. Without the antecedent as well as the ever-continuing interstimulation, there would be no leadership. The interplay of attitudes is the dynamic heart of leadership.

<sup>9</sup> It may be noted here that the three types of leadership discussed in the preceding paragraphs represent an ascending scale of difficulty but a descending scale of recognition.

## Book Notes

THE CHILD IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY. By NATHAN MILLER.  
Brentano's, New York, 1928, pp. 307.

To most primitive folk the child is immature, unfashioned, weak, unripe. He does not "belong" and the group must adjust its folkways to accommodate this "outsider." Abortion, infanticide, and sacrifice testify that the child is sometimes a burden, but with advancing prosperity he becomes a desideratum. The name serves as a sort of group identification tag, frequently the child is mutilated or branded into the group, while his initiation rites italicize his responsibilities to the group and clamp him into position as an active member.

Education develops social cohesion and insures the continuity of the characteristic folk life. It is usually a short process of undirected imitation with simpler societies, but with growing cultural complexity becomes ordered and purposeful. The frequent, early and direct instruction regarding sex affairs should be of interest to those who fear the sophistication wrought in our modern youth by the cinema. There is little chance for extreme individualism in primitive education, but differences are brought about by wealth and position, so that inheritance and succession receive special treatment. With the medicine man, chief, smith, tattooer, midwife, and a few others there is greater chance for play of personality. The child's position is enhanced with a superior economic system, but even today there is too much survival of primitive "educational" devices which aim for a blind stereotyped allegiance to old institutions with little or no appreciation of individual differences.

In this study of the sociology of the child Dr. Miller has applied the anthropological and culture-history approach of Tylor, Sumner, and others, not assuming an unbroken parallel course of development for all societies but merely certain broader lines of development of types of child training. His thoroughly interesting scholarly exposition not only gives a much needed perspective to problems of education and child psychology, but reveals new aspects of the mechanism of social heredity, since the child is after all the main organ in the perpetuation of culture.

N. N. PUCKETT

*Western Reserve University*

**WORLD DRIFT.** By EDWARD A. ROSS. Century Co., New York 1928, pp. ix+223.

Under an appealing title, thirteen papers previously printed in various journals have been brought together, dealing with such topics as: Is the world growing better or worse, Who outbreeds whom, Pocketed Americans, The United States of India, What the films are doing to young America, The Military mind. Professor Ross takes an optimistic view regarding current social change and discusses a number of the phases of change which he regards as progress, chief of which is the extension of freedom. He urges the spread of birth control knowledge and deplores the over-limitations of children on the part of parents able to have and capable of having more children. He gives glimpses of extreme types of mountaineers. A major social question he finds in the role of capital. Taking neither the Katharine Mayo nor the idealist point of view alone regarding India, Professor Ross finds truth in both sides of the Indian question, and predicts the ultimate rise of half a score or more of commonwealths to form the Indian Union. The motion picture, according to the author, arouses the interest of the young too early in sex and love; he regrets to see the signs of growing eroticism, and asks: "Are we headed for the sex mores of the islanders of the South Seas?" The "militarist" is viewed as a warped specialist, who by propoganda and intimidation and with "defense" slogans would make our republic into a military empire. In the role of a "roving sociologist" the author has brought a wealth of keen observations together and has presented them with a freshness of style and verve of which he alone is capable.

E. S. B.

**THE PROBLEM CHILD AT HOME: A Study in Parent-Child Relationships.** By MARY BUELL SAYLES. 1928, pp. v+329.

This significant volume is one of the publications of The Commonwealth Fund of New York City and follows *Three Problem Children* and *The Problem Child in School*, the latter by Miss Sayles and Howard W. Nudd. Miss Sayles states, "The present volume is the result of an effort to draw from the experiences of fathers and mothers and children who came to the clinics helpful suggestions for other parents faced by similar problems." The interpretation is based upon a study of two hundred records taken from the clinics (child guidance) promoted by the Commonwealth Fund for the Prevention of Delinquency. The book is divided into three parts with a preface and suggestions for reading. Part I, devoted to a discussion of "Emotional Satisfaction which parents and children seek in one an-

other," is prefaced by the beautiful lines from Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet* beginning "Your Children are not your children." In this first section the author analyzes the emotional needs of the child, discusses the satisfactions of normal parental love, of exaggerated parental love, of parental ideals and of an impulse to dominate and then concludes with showing the relation of favoritisms, antagonisms and jealousies to parental satisfactions and dissatisfactions.

Part II deals with various mistaken ideas which influence parent-child relationships such as those regarding child nature, sex development and sex practices, the obligation of the child toward his parents, discipline, and heredity. Part III is given over to the presentation of a series of narratives, illustrative of such problems as those of the ex-favorite, the handicapped child, the one who is "too smart," the only child, the unwanted one, the "sissy." In each instance the problem is analyzed and the method of handling it, indicated.

B. A. McC.

**INTERVIEWS: A Study of the Methods of Analyzing and Recording Social Case Work Interviews.** By a committee of the Chicago Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, HELEN L. MYRICK, Chairman; with an introduction by HARRY L. LURIE. 1928, pp. 75.

The pamphlet, *Interviews*, is the first one of a proposed series of "*Studies in the Practice of Social Work*," published by the American Association of Social Workers at New York. The purpose of the series is to provide "a channel through which the social worker can share and test his facts and ideas." This particular monograph grew out of a three year study, the details of which are indicated.

In addition to the excellent introduction which discusses "the place of the interview in social case work," the pamphlet contains the outline used by the committee, and narratives and dialogues illustrating various interviews "analyzed according to psychological processes"; thus: three illustrate "persuasion in relation to family discord"; one, "persuasion to accept social supervision"; one, "persuasion to accept organized recreation"; and five interviews, "persuasion to accept medical care." A brief bibliography is added.

The material is well worth study and the outline used by the committee might well be used by any case worker to test out his methods and the soundness of his technique. It is hoped that this pamphlet will be speedily followed by one on a study of "treatment" which is so greatly needed, especially to clarify the underlying philosophy of social case work.

B. A. McC.



**MIDDLETOWN.** A Study in Contemporary American Culture. By ROBERT S. LYND and HELEN MERRELL LYND. Foreword by Clark Wissler. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1929, pp. x+550.

Middletown is an unnamed city of about 30,000 population, located in the East, North Central States. A quiet, careful study by interviewing by participating in the local life, by examining documentary materials, by using questionnaires, and by compilation of statistics was made, not only for 1924-1925, but as far as possible for 1890. Hence, comparisons are found throughout the report. Numerous short but pithy quotations are given from the interviews, which throw important light on the attitudes and opinions of the citizens. A worth while and successful attempt is made to analyze the culture traits of the given city and to depict the culture changes that have gone on. The result is a more human document than emanates from most surveys. The representative character of this city (for cities of its size) is evident. The authors find that a "ragged, unsynchronized movement of social institutions" is taking place, and that a typical citizen has one foot on "the solid ground of established institutional habits and the other fast to an escalator erratically moving in several directions moving at a bewildering variety of speeds." On the whole, a vivid picture is given of the whirlpool of American social changes that are taking place.

E. S. B.

**TRENDS IN PHILANTHROPY.** By W. I. KING, assisted by KATE E. HUNTLEY. National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., New York, 1928, pp. 78.

In this statistical study, New Haven is the locus of inquiry. It is considered a fairly typical city. The results of the examination of the money given to charity during a period extending from 1900 to 1925 to show that four and one-half times as much was given to philanthropy at the close as at the beginning of this period, but that there has been no per capita increase. Earnings and investments constitute a growing percentage of the receipts of philanthropic institutions. Large gifts are much more important in swelling the aggregate. Money for health work and for education has greatly increased (in percentages), while money for religion and for character building has been decreasing. Cyclical movements in giving were discovered, but the reasons were not clear. This investigation may well be supplemented with another dealing with the attitude of the donors in connection with all the changes that are cited.

E. S. B.

**AMERICAN MARRIAGE AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS.**

By ERNEST R. GROVES and WM. F. OGBURN. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1928, pp. xiv+498.

The subject matter of this book is divided into two distinct parts that might without great inconvenience have been published separately. Part I is an analysis of marriage and the modern family. The author passes hastily over the historical aspects and applies himself directly to the conditions that are shaping and reshaping the family life of today. His interpretations are based largely on his enviable fund of experience with every variety of married couples, both successful and unsuccessful. Among the more significant chapters are the ones dealing with the rôle of the husband and the rôle of the wife. The functions of each are changing and the desires which social culture stimulates in the modern woman as well as the more complex life of the man have promoted an embarrassing amount of family disorganization. Education and opportunity for making a livelihood have emancipated superior women from the confinement to home life. A fuller expression of their better selves is demanded as the price of wifehood and motherhood. The chapter on family discord is an incisive non-statistical treatment of causes. In similar fashion the problems involved in family reconstruction are clearly set forth.

Part II is entitled "A Statistical Study of American Marriage." Although the reader is led to believe that this part is intended to reinforce the interpretations appearing in Part I, the connections are not very apparent. Nevertheless, this portion of the book judged independently is an excellent bit of demography. Among the topics treated are: increase in marriage, ages and marital status, early marriage, income and marriage, influences of city life, the birth rate and marriage, the widowed, the unmarried, the divorced and marital conditions in the different states and cities. Each chapter closes with a summary or brief statement of the significance of the statistics and their meaning in terms of causes and effects.

Throughout Part II social phenomena are compared by means of the coefficient of correlation: and, lest the uninitiated rebel against this procedure, an explanation of the meaning of correlation is added in a final chapter. The Bibliography includes a list of about forty selected books and the titles of many census publications.

G. B. M.

IMMIGRATION AND RACE ATTITUDES. By E. S. BOGARDUS. D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1928, pp. vii+268.

This stimulating volume is one of the publications of the Heath Social Science Series, with a foreword by the general editor, Jerome Davis. The book is of merit from the content approach, but it is of especial interest from the methodological viewpoint. Professor Bogardus has utilized the case study method in gathering factual data with particular reference to racial attitudes. These attitudes he considers the basis of race relationships.

The content of the study is divided into four sections. In Part I the author defines race attitudes, and shows the relationship between status, in the social sense, and race friendliness or antipathy. Part II is devoted first to analyses of both personal and derivative experiences as origins and media for development of racial attitudes and then to discussion of changes in these attitudes either augmentation or reversal, with attention as well to those static attitudes of permanency or changelessness. Part III treats of variation in race attitudes. The author finds five chief factors in this variation, namely: region, age, sex, occupation, and religion,—with threatened status permeating all of them. The last section of the book offers the author's fourfold suggestion for adjustments in race relations. First must come changes in personality, for "racial problems are primarily personality problems." But since in large measure individual attitudes are due to public racial opinion, the latter becomes a field for control of race attitudes. Public opinion, in turn, is molded by education. Courses in race relations, for example, are helpful in building desirable group opinion within the college public; and intelligent and sympathetic sojourn in foreign lands proves even better. The book closes with a plea for sounder social service for the immigrant groups among us.

Throughout the volume interesting excerpts from case studies are presented. The human realness of these records enlivens the statistical portions of the text and makes a book that is at once unique in method in the field of race relations and consistently and attractively readable.

F. S. L.

PERSONNEL AND LABOR PROBLEMS IN THE PACKING INDUSTRY. By ARTHUR H. CARVER. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928, pp. ix+226.

Mr. Arthur Carver, head of the Industrial Relations Department of Swift and Company, evaluates the labor policy of the meat packers in this well-written and finely-edited volume. The author's conception of a labor policy is somewhat colored by the particular labor policy adopted by the packers in 1921, but none the less valuable. A paragraph from Mr. Soule's book, *Wage Arbitration*, reviewed in the last issue of the JOURNAL, may well be kept in mind while reading Mr. Carver's book. The paragraph follows:

*Packing House Cases.* These occurred under an arbitrational arrangement which was a holdover from the war. Note that in spite of the excellent presentation of the unions and the decision of the arbitrator, the arrangement was destroyed six months later by the employers, who decreed a wage reduction. A strike resulted in defeat for the union and the end of collective bargaining (except through a company union). This is an example of the relationship between good reasoning in an argument and strength of union organization. The first is valuable, but not very valuable without the second, which is indispensable to rational wage adjustment (unless we assume that adjustment by employers alone is rational).

And of course, Mr. Carver decides that provision for arbitration is becoming obsolete on the grounds that "provision for arbitration implies that questions are expected to arise upon which no agreement can be reached." This is to say the least, challenging.

A unique point of view developed is that salaries present individual rather than group problems, and that an excellent slogan for every business man who would progress should be, "Keep yourself underpaid." The author has well pointed out that: "Due to physiological and psychological factors involved, however, it does not follow that cost of production can be lowered by reducing them [wages]." He states that a high quality of productive service can be rendered only by giving workers the means whereby they may enjoy reasonable comfort and freedom from financial anxiety.

The whole treatise is a commendable one. There may be more or less disagreement over moot points, but the problems of personnel management are as yet in the first stages of development. The author states that these problems will require serious attention and intelligent planning on the part of management. And he might have added that management ought not to forget that it needs to consult those who are to be affected most by this planning!

M. J. V.

**A SOCIOLOGICAL PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION.** By ROSS L. FINNEY. Macmillan Co., New York, 1928, pp. xi+563. With bold invective coupled with a free and easy style and a generalized social philosophy of life, the author strikes vigorously at many educational foibles. He points out the fallacies latent in a devotion to intelligence tests. He shows how educators today are dangerously subservient to methods and techniques, and hence have become educational shop-keepers. The educator's major function is shown to be that of "running the world tomorrow." Exultant rapier thrusts enliven every chapter in this plea for the re-making of current educational procedure.

**THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES SINCE 1905.** By BENGY KUMAR SARKAR. B. G. Paul and Co., Madras, India, 1928, pp. 325. In this course of lectures, Professor Sarkar gives particular attention to East Indian thought. Industrialization, national independence, imperialism, race-chauvinism, Asian self-assertion receive special attention. The author concludes that "the political philosophies in the different regions of the Orient are mainly but repetitions of Eur-American developments in their earlier stages." A reading of this volume will give the Western world a new and better understanding of the East, and will also add to theory of the unity of the human mind.

**THE CONSUMPTION OF WEALTH.** By ELIZABETH E. HOYT. Macmillan Co., New York, 1928, pp. xiv+344. The author brings to bear a large degree of psycho-social knowledge upon an important economic problem. Likewise, understanding of cultures greatly enriches many of the chapters. The author shows the relation of a standard of living to its culture backgrounds, how consumption may be deliberately controlled by the consumer, and how ecology may explain consumption. The discussion of consumption in terms of "interests," and "cultures," and group life is as refreshing as it is valuable.

**THE BALANCE OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS, Vol. I.** By R. R. KUCZYNSKI. Macmillan Co., New York, 1928, pp. xi+140. The control of birth control will soon become a live topic. In Western and Northern Europe, the decrease in the birth rate has not been offset by a corresponding decrease in the death rate. Under present trends, the population of France, England and Germany is doomed to die out—this is the conclusion to which the author arrives, supported by myriads of statistics.

**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE.** By LETA S. HOLLINGWORTH. D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1928, pp. xiii+259. The most interesting chapters of this book are those on "Psychological Weaning," and "Finding the Self." Many stimulating questions are given at the close of the book, and a well-selected list of "Additional Readings" are appended. A great deal of common sense is mingled with applied psychology to make a readable book, full of helpful advice.

**PHYSICIAN AND PATIENT.** Edited by L. E. EMERSON, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1929, pp. viii+244. The outstanding significance of this book is that it is based on the idea that the patient is a person and not "a test tube in the laboratory, or an aggregation of organs, or a mere machine." Eight physicians have contributed to this volume. Among the most valuable chapters are those on "The Human Relations of Doctor and Patient," "Human Nature and Its Reaction to Suffering," "Attention to Personality in Sex Hygiene."

**AN ANTHOLOGY OF RECENT PHILOSOPHY.** By D. S. ROBINSON. T. Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1929, pp. xi+662. This is a representative and up-to-date collection of readings for the study of current philosophy. A dip into several of these chapters would do sociologists no harm. "The Social Nature of Thinking," "Emergent Evolution," and "A Philosophy of History," are among the most pertinent (sociologically) chapters.



## Periodical Notes

EDITORIAL NOTE: Articles and reports in this section pertain largely to research methods and reports of investigations.

*Sociology, Its Methods and Laws.* These two articles deal with the nature, methods and laws of sociology. In the section on methods is discussed three resources of scientific research, namely, pure observation, experiment and comparison. Hypotheses or theories are absolutely necessary in order to direct, collect, and coordinate observation but pure observation cannot be achieved unless hypotheses are tested by well-defined checks. Even though sociology cannot extensively employ direct experimentation, certain pathological cases, new colonies and revolutions may be used as substitutes. Various forms of comparisons may be used, such as, 1. human and animal societies, 2. different human societies existing at a definite time in different parts of the world, and 3. historical comparison (different consecutive states of the same society). Economics admits, in part at least, the use of the deductive method in addition to the inductive methods of pure observation, experiment and comparison. Eugenia Riguanò University of Milan. Authorized translation by Howard Becker. *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1928, pp. 429-450 and January, 1929, pp. 605-622.

*Measuring Social Adaptation.* The level of intelligence of an individual may be obtained by several different measuring scales of mental ability but there is a lack of comparable measuring scales of social behavior. The article reports studies made in three Eastern institutions: The Orthogenic Disciplinary School in Philadelphia, the New Jersey State Home for Boys and the State Institution for Feeble-minded Women at Vineland. A Personal Behavior Score Card was designed to measure quantitatively the social behavior of individual deviates in a large group of children. A total of 75 objective statements of social adjustment were obtained in each case, including such items as sociability, reliability, truthfulness, attitude toward others, property attitude, attitude toward superiors, industriousness, initiative and discipline. The technique differentiates between the problem and the non-problem cases. The cleavage between the two groups is shown by the differences in the averages, which are 46, 71, and 47 respectively for the three institutions. Lloyd N. Yepsen, *The Journal of Juvenile Research*, September-December, 1928, pp. 254-260.

*Rural Sociological Research in the United States.\** Formal rural sociological research in the United States dates from the year 1910. Since then extensive studies have been made. The Federal Purnell Act in 1925, authorizing "sociological" research by state agriculture experiment stations, has greatly intensified this type of study. The purpose of the monograph is to survey the best that is now being done in rural social research, discussing especially the excellencies and defects of the methodology employed. The document is intended as a manual for research workers. Suggestions for the improvement of techniques are added to the summarizations of methods used in the past. The survey of going projects includes 80 studies carried on in 26 states and in Washington, D.C. The studies pertain to social organization, standard of living, population, farmers' organizations, social psychology, organizations of rural youth, and various miscellaneous projects. The best results were obtained by investigators who carefully worked out their problems and schedules in advance of the study, who followed consistent field and collection methods and utilized effective laboratory and analysis methods. A problem stated in general terms is unsatisfactory. The field and collection methods used in the 80 projects expressed in per cent of total numbers of projects using each method were: questionnaire 25.0, survey by field schedules—random sample 30.0 and selected areas 23.7, personal study and interviews 55.0, using secondary sources 45.0, detailed case study 17.5, field records over a period of time 3.7, diary or field notebook 2.5, direct observational or experimental 3.7, information secured through group conferences 3.7, and changes made because of difficulty in collection 21.2. A tabulation is also made of finance, administration and supervision, and a bibliography of published studies in the field of rural sociology is appended.

*Do Groups Think more Efficiently than Individuals?* The writer set up an experimental social laboratory to test the intellectual efficiency of a group as compared with the efficiency of the same individuals working by themselves. The subjects were 108 graduate students divided into twenty groups varying in size from three to ten. They worked individually for ten minutes, then in groups for two separate periods of ten minutes each, and then again individually

\* *A Social Science Research Monograph* (mimeographed), published by the United States Department of Agriculture, 1928, pp. 114.

for ten minutes. The task was to construct words out of letters contained in given words. The average persons working individually constructed 32 words, the lowest being 18, and the highest 49. "In the periods of cooperative work, the same persons produced about 75 words, on the average." While this was in excess of what the best person produced individually, yet it was slightly less than the group product obtained from a net total of all words produced by those individuals when they worked separately. "If comparison be made in terms of the average individual production, the poorest person has an efficiency of 55 per cent, the best of 150 per cent, the cooperative group of 231 per cent and the compiled group, using the sum-total of individual products, would average 268 per cent." Goodwin B. Watson, *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, October-December, 1929, pp. 328-336.

*Report on a Study of One Hundred Cases of Desertion.* The report represents a study of 100 deserters, of whom 86 were men and 14 women. A questionnaire containing 56 questions was sent to the Diocesan Bureaus (Catholic) of Hartford, Chicago, Los Angeles, Pittsburg and Baltimore. Of the 200 persons, 97 of the women and 78 of the men were Catholics. Twenty-five marriages were outside the church; 23 were between Catholics and non-Catholics. The subjects were for the most part uneducated but their physical health was good, except that of 14 men and 40 women. Many started work early and their wages were low. Seventeen nationalities were represented and 21 of the marriages were mixed. "Three left when they had been married one year or less; 20 from 1 to 5 years; 27 from 5 to 10 years; 24 from 10 to 15 years; 25 from 15 to 20 years, and one after an association of 25 years with out marriage." Thirty-one men left when their wives were pregnant, 28 during unemployment; 39, however, had work and 33 did not report as to their economic condition. Twenty-five had gambling habits. Forty-six men and 3 women drank to excess. Fifty-one of the cases showed evidence of incompatibility, and 57 were unwilling to assume responsibility. Twenty-five of the women nagged, 4 had violent tempers, 23 were poor housekeepers but 51 were thrifty and good housekeepers. E. Frances O'Neill and The Rev. Ralph J. Glover, *The Family*, January, 1929, pp. 287-91.

## International Notes

THE REACTION AGAINST LIBERAL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT has reached considerable proportions within the last fifteen years. The most marked form of this reaction has been that of the dictatorship. There are, at present, nearly a dozen dictatorships. Among them are: Stalin in Russia, Mussolini in Italy, De Rivera in Spain, Pilsudski in Poland, Valdemares in Lithuania, Zog in Albania, Alexander in Yugoslavia, and Ibanez in Chile.

In most of these countries the reaction has been against liberalism, radicalism, and more particularly Bolshevism; and the result has usually been that of extreme conservatism. Such conservatism cultivates the means for its own destruction, and already we hear the rumbling of the counter-reaction of which the uprisings in Spain are the best examples.

Some leaders of democratic forms of government, such as Herriot in France, look with alarm upon the growth of the dictatorships; while others agree with H. Wickham Steed, former editor of the *London Times*, who states that the movement is merely "a phase of anti-liberal reaction, too barren to leave a lasting impression upon the world."

GREAT MOVEMENTS of population may soon be a phenomenon of the past. At present, the powerful Australian Workers' Union is sending a delegation to Italy and Britain to turn migrants away from the Commonwealth. Canada has ordered a thirty per cent reduction of those coming to her shores from non-preferred countries. Dr. Tehye Hsich, head of the Chinese Trade Bureau, in his lecture tour of the United States and Canada, said that many of the Chinese emigrants will eventually return to China because of the growing demand in that country for foreign-trained Chinese. Mexico is expecting the return of her people from the United States as conditions improve below the border. And our Congress is planning further limitations on the influx of immigrants into this country.

Other evidence of this nature is easily available. Furthermore, the day is not far distant when such countries as are now calling for immigrants will reach the point of saturation. When that time arrives, the countries with large surplus populations will be forced to find means for the limitations of these surpluses not by sending them beyond their borders but by limiting the sources from which they come.

COMPULSORY INSURANCE of all motor vehicles has been recently written into the law of New Zealand. The law has been so framed that persons injured in accidents will be compensated, regardless of whom the driver may be, through the insurance on the car which caused the accident. Injured drivers and passengers in cars causing accident, do not come under the new ruling unless they are in vehicles for hire when the accident occurs.

JUVENILE DRINKING IN RUSSIA has increased greatly since the war. Walter Duranty, writing to the *New York Times*, states that over half of Moscow's public school children drink vodka. A vigorous campaign is now under way to curb the habit. Russia's experience has some similarity with that of the United States. Lincoln is credited with legalizing the saloon that it might help to pay for the Civil War. In so doing an institution was developed which so aggravated drunkenness and related evils that public sentiment soon crystallized into the outlawry of the evil. The Soviet powers, in a similar manner, turned to the sale of vodka to help finance their government. By this action they gave the drinking of hard liquor a sanction which in itself has stimulated drunkenness and debauchery; and now the reaction is in evidence.

RACE AND NATIONALITY CONFLICTS are again brought to the fore in British possessions of southern Africa. The movement for closer union of these provinces has met strong opposition. The problem is not merely one which involves the relations between the whites, the blacks, and the Indian coolie immigrants who vary so greatly in racial and cultural background, but also embodies the relations between the British, the Dutch, and the Germans who live within the borders of these territories. The whites fear they will be overrun by the blacks; for this reason, there are those who suggest that the natives be disfranchised. But the natives insist upon their full share of power. Others advocate separate zones for the whites and the natives, but this suggestion does not seem feasible. Furthermore, the whites, who differ in national origin, cannot agree among themselves. And so dissatisfaction increases and no immediate solution seems to be forthcoming.



## Social Research Notes

THE JANUARY meeting of Alpha Kappa Delta of the University of Southern California was addressed by the following members: Dr. Erle F. Young, Miss Emily Wooley, member of the staff of Outdoor Relief of the Los Angeles County Department of Charities, and Miss Margaret Barnard, Executive Secretary, Los Angeles Chapter of the American Red Cross. "Recent Developments in Social Work" was the general theme.

Some of the present tendencies in social work which were pointed out by the speakers were: The development of a more cordial and reciprocal influence and relationship between sociology and social work; the establishment of a new State Department of Public Welfare in California; the achievements of the local community chest movement; the rapid development of public outdoor relief in Los Angeles County with the annual expenditure exceeding the two-million mark, which is a tenfold increase in the last ten years; the tendency to shift certain forms of social work to schools, police departments and other agencies which formerly did not emphasize these forms of social work as their functions; the increasing control and influence exercised by state and national organizations on local institutions; the development of professional attitudes, and the improvement of standards, technique, and publicity in social work. It was stressed that the work of public agencies was handicapped from the very start by an indifferent and sometimes hostile public. Movements, such as the community chest and rural community organizations, frequently are thwarted by the prejudice and hostility, as well as by indifference, which must be overcome before effective work can be done. One of the chief needs for the future success of social work in both public and private institutions and organizations, is the creation of an intelligent public opinion and support. In order to secure the confidence and support of the public, social agencies must pay heed to criticisms and must create a public interest through effective publicity and education.

THE FEBRUARY meeting of the Social Research Society of Southern California was devoted to the discussion of "Motion Pictures and Human Behavior." The speaker, Boris V. Morkovin, came to the University of Southern California two and one-half years ago from the University of Prague. The speaker defined the role of motion pictures as a powerful accelerating and retarding agent in both cycles of social processes, the processes of social differentiation and integration. In connection with the urbanization and industrialization of society (the urban population of the United States during the last century increased 87 times) motion pictures make their mighty imprint on different forms of social maladjustment and social unrest. The norms of the primary group which had stood firm as a rock from yore have been changing under the pressure of motion pictures and the lure of big cities within a few years. Seventeen million people in the United States attend movies daily. Many social problems are involved in the production of motion pictures as well as in their effects on the minds of the youth and the adult. Motion pictures on the other hand are a mighty means of communication and social control. The people of seventy countries, speakers of more than 600 languages and dialects in the world are influenced by the actors of Hollywood. This gigantic audience has a common language. Hollywood, which furnishes 80 per cent of all motion pictures to the world is a nucleus of radiation of the culture patterns all over the world. The influence of America in this direction arouses great alarm in Europe and other parts of the world. Motion pictures played a great role in the maintaining of the morale of the American armies and their Allies. Different governments use films for national and international propaganda; Russia and Italy have nationalized the motion picture industry. The most interesting letters of fans to the different motion picture stars which Professor Boris V. Morkovin had the opportunity of studying display a striking process of the making of symbols from different stars. In his project, the speaker presented a plan for collective research work for the Department of Sociology of the University of Southern California, and indicated the sources of material which might be utilized by the graduate students who would participate in the suggested plan.

## Social Fiction Notes

GRIMHAVEN. By ROBERT JOYCE TASKER. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928, pp. 241.

Criminologists and penologists will, I believe, find much valuable material in this poignant tale of actual prison life. Written within the walls of San Quentin, and published during the author's sojourn in that institution, the book may be looked upon as a partial life history of one of society's unfortunates. It is particularly revealing in its illumination of the attitudes of prisoners. Here are clearly shown some of the origins of social distance, notwithstanding the supposed lost identities of personalities under a prison régime. The struggle for status within prison walls appears to go on just as relentlessly as it does on the outside.

Especially gripping is the chapter on "A Man Is Hanged." Grim reality stalks through every page of this particular narrative, and the picture of the convicts in the yard on execution day is one that is apt to linger:

Friday morning we were sent, as usual, to the old yard. There we waited, expecting to be locked in our cells. But for some reason they chose to run us all into the large yard, where we should be obscured from the eyes of spectators who would shortly arrive to view the strangling. The men began to pace the yard. Convicts always will. Animals in cages always move back and forth. The reason is the same. They want to go home. The pacing is fiercest when agitation is present. I had learned to interpret that dogged silence which hung over the prison on days such as this. It was not the muteness of fear, but the impotence of rage. I fell into the stride with a man of my acquaintance, and I spoke the words one always used on an occasion like this:

"It's pretty tough."

"Tough!" he halted. Faced me. Wheeled. We walked on. "Hell—it's lunacy!"

The story of crushed hopes and the birth of a fatalistic outlook is dramatically portrayed by the author in the narration of a bit of a scene that is tense with pathetic emotion. Tasker, longing to be given a quiet cell for himself alone, is at last given permission to move. His sole contact with the outside world is a little old typewriter. As he moves out, his belongings, gathered into a neat pile, are attacked.

From the tail of my eye [he writes], I saw something falling. As I turned, my typewriter crashed to the concrete far below. Parts of it flew in every direction.

"That's the end," I swore to myself. "I'll never write another thing if I live a million years!" . . .

All day long, I went praying that someone would make some disparaging remark to me. I meant to club him to death on the spot. . . .

The crash of the typewriter with its echoing din! And hanging as a deterrent!

The concluding paragraph is strangely like the ending of a tale of Tolstoi:

And here in the midst of it am I. I have no certain fault, and I have no certain virtue. My ignorance is neither little nor great. I am neither fortunate nor unfortunate. I would seem to be a bit of mechanism, responding to certain mechanical impulses, reacting in a mechanical way. I have no certain knowledge at all, except that I am, and that I am here.

This particular human document is well worthy of attention. One wishes, however, that there had been a detailed introductory account of Tasker's early years. But the dark tale may be useful to those who would evaluate some phases of our present penal system.

M. J. V.

"Today the novelist takes his functions very much more seriously and, perhaps all unconsciously, so does the Public. This is because the Novel has become indispensable to the understanding of life.

"It is, that is to say, the only source to which you can turn in order to learn how your fellows spend their entire lives."

"It is in short unbearable to exist without some view of life as a whole, for one finds oneself daily in predicaments in which some sort of a pointer is absolutely necessary. Even though no novel known to you may exactly meet your given case, the "novel does supply that cloud of human instance without which the soul feels unsafe in its adventures; and the normal mind fairly easily discerns what events or characters in its fugitive novels are meretricious in relation to life, however entertaining they may be as fiction." —FORD MADOX FORD, "The English Novel," *The Bookman*, December, 1928, 371-72.

# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH



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